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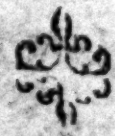
G O O D  
A N D  
T H E K I N G.  
O R  
A D I A L O G V E

Wherein is treated of *Allegiance* due to  
our most Gracious Lord, King James,  
within his Dominions.

W H I C H

(*by removing all Controuersies, and causes  
of Dissentions and Suspitions*) bindeth  
*Subiects, by an inuiolable band of Loue  
& Duty, to their Soueraigne.*

Translated out of Latin into English.

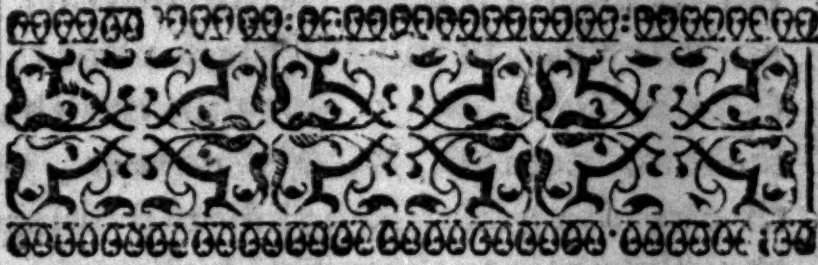


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## To the Reader.

**T**HE former Dialogue, set forth vnder this same Title, GOD AND THE KING (the persons of the same being Theodidactus and Philalethes, the first signifying One taught of God, the other, A louer of Truth) did need explication in diuers poynts, as well in regard of the verity of the discourse, as also for the more safety both of Kings and their Kingdomes. VVherfore it was thought good, that in this present Dialogue two other persons should treat of the same subiect, Aristobulus, that is, A good Coucellour, and Philanax, A Louer of Kinges: of which the one wisheth all good vnto Kinges; the other suggesteth what he iudgeth best for their State. And so in few wordes (gentle Reader) thou hast the scope of both Dialogues. Farewell.



# GOD AND THE KING.

---

*Philanax.*

**Y**Ou are well met *Aristobulus*:  
your countenance and gesture  
import, that your thoughtes  
are much busied. What may  
be the occasion of these Meditations?

*Aristobulus.*

I haue lately perused a short Treatise  
intituled **GOD AND THE KING**,  
the Author whereof vndertaketh to  
shew the groundes & foundations of  
royall Soueraignty, and of the Oath of  
Allegiance.

*Philanax.*

Why should the perusall of that Treas-  
tise



4 *God and the King.*

tise cause such admiration in you? I am sure you, being a Professour of the Gospell, are not of their number, that seeke to depresse Kingly power, or thinke much that Kings should oblige their subiects to them by Oathes.

*Aristobulus.*

*Dial. God  
and the  
Kinge  
pag. 2.*

*Dial. p. 33.  
& 34.*

My profession, and my deedes declare sufficiently my dutifull affection to Kings, my high esteeme of their authority, my detestation of all treason, hollownes, and insincerity towards them. I approue the doctrine of this Dialogue, that vnder the pious and reuerend appellations of Father and Mother, are comprized, not only our naturall Parents, but likewise all higher Powers, and especially such as haue soueraigne authority, as Kings & Princes, who more expressly, then any Gouernours, represent the person & maiesty of one God, ruling the whole world, and are his substitutes & lieutenants, euery one within his owne Kingdome. The subiect may not touch his soueraigne with any hurtfull touch, nor stretch out his hand against his sacred person, nor affright, nor disgrace him by cutting the lapp of

## God and the King.

5

of his garment, not hurt him in word, no nor  
so much as in thought. He must discharge his  
manifest duties towards him, by payinge  
tribute for his regall supporte: by fighting his  
battailes with Iob: aduenturing his life with  
Dauid to vanquish his enimies: Revealing with  
religions Mardocheus treasonable designe-  
ments against him: by pouring out prayers  
and supplications for his wellfare: by esteem-  
ing and honouring him from the harte, and  
out of conscience, as the annointed of the Lord,  
Gods holy Ordinance and Minister, and as a  
God vpon earth. These doctrines I allow;  
and these duties towardes Princes  
whosoever infringeth, either by tu-  
mults or seditions against his state, or  
by treacherous and violent attempts  
against his person; deserue as violators  
of Gods will, contemners of natures  
law, and enemies to the good of their  
Countrey, to be punished & persecuted  
to death by sword and fire.

*Philanax.*

Seeing then that the Treatise you  
speake of doth so fully declare the duty  
of Allegiance to the King: what  
troubleth you therein, that your coun-  
tenance discouereth dislike?

A 3

*Aristo.*



## God and the King.

*Aristobulus.*

Speech in  
the Star-  
chamber.  
1616.

To commend allegiance in generall termes, simply and playnly conceaued, is most allowable & necessary in these times. But bold, or rather desperate Treatises, such as this is, that disclose the mysteries of Regall Prerogative, which, as his Maiesty well noteth, ought not to be searched into: that ground the authority of Kings so necessary for mankinde, vpon doubtfull curiosities: that moue questions about depositions, both disgracefull to Maiesty, and odious to the subiects: such Treatises (I say) doe more harmethen good: and without doubt the first Authors of such conceits be secret enemies to Kingly gouernment, and by this stratageme would craftily vndermine what hitherto in vayne they haue assaulted openly.

*Philanax.*

I am perswaded the Treatise you mention was not written by any Papist: nor that any of that generation had their hand in it. Who then may

we

we think be these vnderminers of Monarchy you speak of?

*Aristobulus.*

I would to God it were hard to name them : or that euery one could not point with his finger at that professiō which from her cradle hath euer been a mortall enemy to Kings. That the first planters of the Ghospell in this age rooted the same in rebellion and in hatred to Monarchy, neither wee nor any of their best friends can deny. Our *Bancroft* late Arch-bishop excuseth them, *that in the Dan-* their zeale was very greate, the light of the gerous po- Ghospell (sayth he) then first appearing vnto *fitiōs p. 33.* them, so dazeled their eyes, that they did not well consider what they did. Without doubt so it was, and so it will euer be, where the pure light, as they call it, of this Ghospell shineth, and zeale therof feruently burneth, there can be no assured allegiance to the Prince. This (I confesse) is no small blemish to the Religion, which I would conceale, did not loue to his Maicsty force me to speak. And the reason why it must needs be so is euident.



A true spirit zealous in Religiō can neuer be quiet in the busines of l- luati- on, and in questions and Controuersies of Faith, till he find some ground in- fallible whereon he may rest. The Pa- pist holdes that the Popes sentence, specially in generall Councils, is the infallible decider of Controuersies, v- pon which he repositeth his conscience. And by submitting euery one his pri- uate iudgment to the sentence of a su- preme Iudge, they gayne peace and vni- ty among themselves, and their Iudge, still when he defines, being (as they pretend) assisted by Gods spirit, they are secured from errour. An easy and sweet way to end Controuersies had it pleased God to haue appointed it, wherein *verity and charity meet, Iustice* (doctrine I lay iust with Gods word) *kisseth with peace:* and Christians might haue enioyed what *S. Paul* so highly commendeth, *charity of truth*. But our Authors constantly affirme, that since the Apostles, God granted no such priuiledge to any Pastor, nor wold be- stow so great blessing on his Church, as to haue perpetually such a visible gouer-

*Psal. 84. v.*  
16.

*2. Thessal.*  
*5. 2. v. 10.*

gouvernour to decide her doubtles

*nimum vobis Romana propago*

*visa potens, superi, propria hac si dona fuissent.*

Whertore by the consēt of the Churches which we call reformed, the spirit of God deciding Controuersies, which Papists tied to the Pope and his Councils, was giuen to euery man that should attend to the spirit speaking in Scriptures. A course which pleased much the common people in the beginning, persuading them that they had been blinded and wronged by the Pope, taking from them, together with the vse of Scriptures, their authority to iudge definitions of the Church by Scriptures. The deuisers of this way seemed to haue great zeale of the truth, but were not carefull to prouide for peace. And so in practise this deuise begot a multitude of Sects and Religions, one against another, that many, weary of all, began to thinke it were better men should be vnited in error, then thus mortally diuided in Truth.

A meane was deuised to decide Controuersies by nationall Synods, that are confessed may erre, but the Ciuil ma-



10 *God and the King.*

Hooker  
Ecclesiast.  
pol. prefac.  
p. 28.

gistrate, as our chief Divines teach, as being President in them, is to compell his subjects by the sword to imbrace those doctrines that be determined (be they true or fals.) For this course (say they) was appointed by God, who thought it better in the eye of his vnderstanding, that sometimes an erroneous definitiue sentence should preuaile, then that strifes should haue respite to grow and not come speedily to some end. Heere desire of peace & concord may seeme to haue made these men lesse zealous of the Truth then behooued them. So it opened a gappe (specially in England) to prophanes & irreligiosity, which is to be iust of the Kings Religion whatsoeuer it be, or rather of none.

Hooker  
ibid. p. 29.

A salve for this sore hath been inuēted: that subiects ought to obey their Princes Lawes and definitions, when they haue only probabilities against them, not when they haue necessary and demonstratiue reasons, which discharge the conscience and giue liberty to resist. This caueat and salve for Truth sets the wound of dissention againe a bleeding. Sects in the world are now almost infinite for number: amongst which not one is found that pre-

pretendeth not cleere and euident demonstration, and prooffe from holy Scripture for their contrary and repugnant opinions. And who shall iudge in this contradiction and confusion whose reasons are necessary and demonstratiue? The arguments which we think demonstratiue, moue Papists nothing at all, and arguments which we iudge of no force, Puritans (as Archbishop Bancroft writeth of them) take Suruey of to be so vrgent, that, *if euery hayre of their the holy head were a seuerall life, they wold giue them discipline, all in the cause.* This controuerly ther- p. 93.  
fore, whose reasons are demonstratiue and whose are not, is the greatest of all others: nor is there any way to decide it in our churches besides the sword of the temporall Prince. Princes therefore for conseruation of peace, must keep the spirit in awe, practising power infallible in deedes, which they dare not challenge in wordes. This is the cause of the secret enmity betweene power of Kings, and feruour of our Gospell. The Prince can neuer be assured of our Gospellers by the Principles of their Religion, that their zeale to the Truth will



- (a) *Bafil. Dor. p. 40. & 41.* will not trouble the peace of his Kingdome: nor Ghospellers of the Prince, that his loue of temporall peace, will not compell them to trust to his de-  
 (b) *Knox. histor. of the Church of Scot. p. 265. Dang. posit. p. 11.* ceauable definitions. Whence it is manifest, that so long as the one shal be zealous and feruent, to follow, and preach what by light of the spirit they  
 (c) *Sleydan. l. 28. & l. 22. Ofsian. Epist. cent. 26. p. 566.* conceaue to be in Scripture, occasions cannot be wanting to the other that will force him to vse his power to curbe their liberty. Which power, so  
 (d) *Cuspin. of the Church of France p. 625 Ferres histor. p. 588.* long as he shal vsurpe (& so long as he will be Prince and Protestant he must needes vsurpe) let him neuer expect that Ghospellers can loue his gouernment, though they may flatter in outward shew.  
 (e) *Ofsian. ibid. p. 94.* Those men had (no doubt) the (a) pure spirit of our Ghospell, who protested,  
 (f) *Chitraeus in chron. p. 71.* that except they (b) might haue the reformation they desired, they would neuer be subject  
 (g) *Fulk. answere to the declam of P. Erastines.* to mortall man. Looke vpon the first erecting of our Religion in (c) Germany, (d) France, (e) Flanders (f) Sweueland (g) Denmarke (h) and Scotland, & you  
 (h) *Dang. posit. l. 1. c. 3. 4. & seq.* shall find that the Ghospell went not so fast vp, but Kings and their authority

rity went as fast downe. What Bul-  
lenger writeth of Anabaptists, was the  
true course of our Reformers. (i) They  
began with Bishops, pulling them  
from their seates; they ended with  
Kings casting them frō their Thrones.  
Bookshave been written of this argu-  
ment (k) by no Papists, that shew their  
practises and doctrines to be in the  
highest degree injurious to Kings.

(l) Luthers inuectives I omit, not  
to pollute your eares. Calvin is more  
modest, yet so bould with Kinges, as to  
write, that when they resist the Ghos-  
pell (m) they are not to be obeyed, but rather  
we ought to *strike* in their faces. This is no-  
thing to that which Hotomā, Beza, Good-  
man, Knox, Vrsinus, Buchanan (to forbear  
the naming of others innumerable)  
haue writtē, wherby they make Maie-  
sty subiect to the peoples pleasure, no  
more sure of his state, then wether-  
cocks that must turne with the wind.

*Vt sumat, vt ponat secures*

*Arbitrio popularis aua.*

What thinke you of these their propo-  
sitions following? (n) Yf Princes be ty-  
rants against God and his Truth, their  
sub.

(i) Suruey  
of the  
disc. p. 108.

(k) Dang.  
posit. Sur-

uey and  
others by  
D. Ban-  
croft. (l)

Principes  
sunt omni-

um quos  
terra iusti-

net stul-  
tissimi &

detrimenti  
nebulones.

Tō. 2. Ger.

len. de mag  
sacul. fol.

200.  
(m) Cal. in  
Dan. cap.

6. v. 22.

(n) Knox  
to Engl. &  
Scotl. fol.

78.



- (o) Buchā. subjects are freed from their oath of  
de iure Allegiance. (°) The people are greater  
Reg. p. 61. then the King, & of greater authority  
(p) *ibid* p. 58. (p) The people have the same power o-  
(q) *ibid*. ver the King, that the King hath over  
p. 13. any one person. (q) The people have  
(r) *ibid*. p. 12. right to bestow the Crown at their  
pleasure. (r) As the patient may choose  
the phisiciā he liketh best, & reiect him  
(s) Buchan at his pleasure: so the people in whose  
*apud Black.* free choice at the beginning it was to  
*Apol. pro* be vnder kings or no, may, when they  
*Reg. pag.* be weary of their bad government, cast  
61. him from his (s) Office into prison,  
into irons, put him to death, and set  
(t) The booke of whome they please to governe in his  
obedience place.  
written in (t) Kings have their authority  
Geneua from the people, and the people may  
by fugi- take it away againe, as men may re-  
tives in uoke their letters of Attorney. (u) Yf  
Queene kings without feare transgresse Gods  
Maryes Lawes, they ought no more to be ta-  
dayes p. ken as magistrats, but be examined, ac-  
16. cused, condemned, and punished as  
(u) *ibid*. p. 319 159. priuate transgressors. (x) When magi-  
(x) Good- strats do not their duties, God giveth  
*man* h. 180. the sword into the peoples hand: from  
184. 185. the

the which no person, King, Queene  
or Emperor is exempt; being Idolater  
he must dye the death. These and the  
like positions haue been inuented by  
the zealous professors of our Religion.  
The same or worse were renewed and  
uttered by the feruorous reformers that  
troued for discipline in Queene Eliz.  
ayes, that (as a worthy prelat writes)

(y) All the Popish traitors that hither-  
to haue written, and all the Geneuian  
& Scottish Reformers come not neere  
them for malicious and spiteful taunts,  
for rayling and bitter tearmes, for dis-  
dainefull and contemptuous speeches,  
against Prince, Bishops, Counsaillors &  
all other that stand in their way. Their  
secret practises to set vp, by som meane  
or other, sweete or violent, the said  
disciplin, haue neuer been interrupted  
or remitted, as he doth (z) particular-  
ly relate, beginning at the yeere 1560.  
to the yeere 1591. when was practised  
that most blasphemous and barbarous  
reason, of their counterfait Iesus-  
Christ Hacket, and his two Prophets  
of mercy and vengeance, who would  
haue planted the discipline, by depri-

uing

(y) Ban-  
croft. Dāg.  
posit. p. 65.  
See this  
proued l.  
2. c. 4. 5. 6.  
7. 8. 9. 10.  
11. 12. 13.

(z) Dang.  
posit. ibid.  
l. 3. c. 1. &  
seq.  
Danger. l.  
4. c. 6. 7. 8.  
9. 10.  
ibid. c. 11.



*ibid. c. 13.*

*Ignée natura  
concionatoris.  
Basil. Dor.  
pag. 41.*

uing the Queene, and murdering the nobles that stood against it, of which the cheefest Pretendents in that reformation had notice, at least in confutation and in generall, as the said Archbishop affirmeth, and did secretly connive thereunto: fauouring no doubt in hatred a popular state where Church-dogmatrine and discipline is receaued & rejected by voices. In which government these fiery Ghospellers, as his Maiesty calleth them, beeing commonly men of sharpe wits, and ready tongues, high minded, and of working spirits might beare great sway, & euery one rule as King and Pope in his parish.

Since that time, these men haue been in thew both for doctrine & practise more moderate, specially since his Maiesties happy raigne, and that some of them haue been aduanced to dignities. Now they are become the forwardest in thew for defence of Allegiance: they speake most against the Papists that hold Kings to be deposable in some cases: They extoll Royall authority aboue the skyes. I can in

Charity

Charity belecue that some of them  
meane as they professe: yet wisdom  
giues leaue to feare reconciled emenies.  
Poison no where lurketh more se-  
curely then in hony. Their present  
doctrine carrieth outwardly a shew of  
friendship to Kings, but who will  
looke into the ground, shall finde it  
dangerous to them, and more pern-  
icious then the former of *Caluin*, *Good-*  
*man*, *Beza*, *Knox Buchanan*, and others  
their predecessors and Maisters. The  
summe of this their doctrine is con-  
teyned in the Treatise intituled *God &* *Dial. p. 37.*  
*the King*. The Authour whereof had *32. 33. 68.*  
no reason to tearme himselfe *Theodi-*  
*dact*, that is, *Taught of God*, seing he spea-  
keth diuers thinges that the spirit of  
God could not suggest vnto him. He  
yndertaketh the prooffe of foure pro-  
positions. The first is, *That Kings haue*  
*authority immediately & only from God*, the  
*Church and people not being any thing in the*  
*quiest thereof*. This is the fundamentall  
stone, whereon is built the second:  
*That Kings haue no superior on earth to cha-*  
*stise and punish them*. The third is. *That*  
*neither Tyranny, nor Heresy, nor Apostacy can*  
B release



release subjects of their Obediēce. The fourth:  
That Kings may neither be deposed nor resisted  
(but by teares and prayers) though they  
should be so tyrannous & prophane, as to endea-  
mour to oppresse the whole Church and Com-  
monwealth at once, and vtterly to extinguish  
the light of Christian Religion.

*Philanax.*

These speeches may be disgustfull  
to Subjects, and sound vncouthly in  
their eares: but doctrine that doth so  
magnify Kings, I see not how it may  
be thought pernicious to them.

*Aristobulus.*

Kinges are not to regard so much  
how great and glorious, as how groun-  
ded be the titles that are bestowed on  
them: seeing incredible praises giuen  
to men, do oftentimes abate the cre-  
dit of their deserued commendation.

Hooker:

*Ecel. polit.*

*l. 2. p. 129.*

Some Ghospellers (as a iudicious Pro-  
testant complaines) attributing to the holy  
Scripture more then it cā haue, the incredibility  
of that hath caused euen those things which in  
deede it hath most abundantly, to be the lesse  
reuerently esteemed. The same we may  
feare

feare will happen to the authority of  
Kinges. And the danger of such flatter-  
ing speculations as this Dialogist  
teacheth, is so much the greater to the  
Souveraigne, whilest they extoll him  
aboue measure to the state of absolute  
Lord & God vpon earth, as it is hatefull  
to the subiect to see himself abased to  
seruile & abhorred captiuitie, & put to  
a more miserable condition, then the  
bondage of slaues. For slaues (to speak  
nothing of humane lawes that haue  
appointed limits to their miseries)  
haue some rightes and liberties by the  
law of nature inuiolable, which (if  
they be able) they may defend by force  
against euen their owne Maisters that  
shall violently and vniustly inuade  
them. Such liberty they haue to marry  
and propagate humane kind, to enioy  
life so long as they haue done no-  
thing worthy of death, but principally  
to worship God their maker and su-  
preme Lord. But this new doctrine  
of Princely absolute Soueraignty set  
downe in the Treatise mentioned,  
makes the Common-wealth so mis-  
erable, and the people such bondmen to



their Prince, that they may not defend their nationall freedoms how iust & necessary soeuer, nor the liberties and rightes that nature hath bequeathed euen vpon slaues. But that if the Prince wanton in cruelty, should keep men by force frō marrying, so to bring the Common-wealth to vtter desolation in one age: or if not hauing patience to attend that lingring consumption of the state, he should daily send me by multitudes like heards of sheep or oxen to the slaughter; or if (out of a desire his subiects may perish eternally) he should seek vtterly to extinguish the doctrine of saluation within his Realmes: In these cases (I say) or the like, of extreamest necessity and most hostile inuasion, according to the doctrine of this Dialogist, they may not lift vp so much as their finger against his attempts, nor ioyne with any power vpon earth, that would releue them.

*Philanax.*

I see plainly that this doctrine is very odious in it self: and you set it forth to the vttermost.

*Ari*

*Aristobulus.*

I say no more then his owne wordes import, nor haue described tyrāny more truly then he hath done in his Dialogue. And I know so well there is no cause to feare the practise of this doctrine by his gracious Maiesty, that I would not haue laid thus much, but to shew how odiously enemies of Royalty may, and will exagitate this Conclusion, when such discourses shalbe for the aduantage of popularity. Now they write, and cause Treatises to be published by authority, which when time shall serue, they may vse to make his Maiesty hatefull. By the like stratageme the Puritans of Scotland ouerthrew his Maiesties Mother. When *Camden.* they had barbarously slayne the Kinge *Eliz. p. 111.* her husband, they importunely vrged her (alleging it was necessary for the maintenance of her state and life) to marry with the Earle of Bothwell, concealing from her that he had been cheef actor in the murther. The marriage was no sooner concluded, but they diuulged the hatefullnes thereof,



thence seeking to perswade the world she had been consenting to her husbands death. And so what with defamatory libells abroad, what with their turbulent declamations at home they made her odious, they tooke from her the Crown, they tossed her frō misery to misery, till finally they brought her to lay her head on the blocke to be cut off by the comon Executioner. I hope his Maiesties happy raygne shall neuer see commotion in this State: yet if any such tumult happen (and human things are vncertain) I do not feare to be found a false Prophet in saying, that this doctrine wilbe bitterly exclaimes against, and this Treatise I speake of, produced to witnes what desperate allegiance Princes exact: and vrged not only against his Maiesty, but as a cause sufficient to banish Kings out of the Land. The late Lord of Canterbury complaynes, that in his dayes, cantoning

*Bancrofe*  
*Journey of*  
*pol. dis. c. 2.*  
*5. 7.*

*of Kingdomes was in many mens mouthes: that men did talke what a notable thing it is to liue in Venice, where euery gentleman lieth with as great liberty, as the Duke himselfe. Many who now haue Kings and their maie-*

*sties*

ries most frequent in their mouth, still  
harbor we may feare, the same affecti-  
on in their hartes to be freed from the.  
Yea some Puritanes of the last Parla-  
ment in their discontented meetings,  
were bold to propose the changing  
of the gouernment of the Realme from  
Monarchy into Democracy. Nor may  
such men, that have been once tayne-  
d with this Conſtoriall affection,  
be therefore trusted, because they are  
content to take vpon them the dignity  
of Bishops, wherein they may di-  
ssemble by their owne doctrine, re-  
tayneing it not as a sacred but as a tem-  
porall office from the Prince, and vſe it  
to set vp the discipline: These couert  
enemies of Kings want not their Con-  
federates in *France* whose mindes and  
desires *Turquet* a famous French Prote-  
stant expresseth in his booke written  
in commendatiō of Democracy aboue  
Monarchy; nor in *Holland* to which  
this French Democratist *Turquet* dedi-  
cated his aforeſayd booke, as to men  
already made blessed by this kind of  
gouernment, and fittest instruments  
to bring the same into the rest of refor-



med Countries. Of these enemies of Monarchy so combined together, so neighbouring vpon vs, so subtile as they lye hidde vnder rochets, & corner caps in the shape of Bishops and their adherents, we haue more need to take heed then of the Pope, who is further off, his cause not popular, his party not like to preuaile by force, & his followers rather ready to dye, then they wil dissemble their Religion, as these others do.

*Philanax.*

I perceauc by your discourse that more treachery against Kings may be couched in these plausible discourses then I could euer haue imagined. The *Troians* were not wise that trusted the gifts of the Grecians, nor can I thinke it policy to rest secure of the bookes or writings which those that once were Puritans publish to flatter the state or the Prince, pretending affection to soueraignty which their Religion doth so mightily and so intrinscally oppugne. I feare that as within the *Troian* horse armed enemies lurked, so vnder this new deuised allegiance

tray-

of traytors lye hidden : who when they  
see their time wil shew themselves like  
so many firebrands, to incense the  
people against Kings, that challenge  
such infinite and hatefull authority.

*Aristobulus.*

You feare not without cause, yf you  
consider that by this deuise the authors  
therof who would rule themselves a-  
lone, do nothing but practise the Ma-  
chiauilian meanes to attayn therunto. \* *Diuide*  
\*. They seek to seperate the King from *Or regna.*  
those, whose loue may stand him in  
most need. The foure propositions be-  
fore set downe make him enter into o-  
bious competency with foure Aduer-  
saries. The first breeds him a quarrell  
with the Common wealth, from  
whom he will not haue his power de-  
riued. The second puts him into con-  
tention with the Church, to whose  
direction and censures he wil not haue  
his Crowne subordinate. The third  
brings him into hatred of mankind, by  
challenging an irresistable power to  
tyranize vpon man at his pleasure. The  
fourth conteynes an open strife with



God for precedence, requiring of the  
Common wealth, in case they cannot  
enjoy both, that they be content to  
want rather God then their King. And  
these quarrells are moued vpon weak  
titles and claymes, grounded on do-  
ctrines either vncertayne or apparant-  
ly false, and so odious as were they  
true, yet were it not fit to discusse them  
in vulgar Treatises.

*Philanax.*

I see these doctrines are odious, and  
I nothing doubt but they are likewise  
vngrounded: yet I desire that you wil  
seuerally shew both these things in e-  
very one of the foure propositions, that  
I may be better instructed to discover  
the treacherous entendments of these  
counterfeit friendes of Maiesty.

*Aristobulus.*

I will do my endeaour to satisfy  
your request. First, I will examine the  
foure aforesaid Propositions, which  
done I meane to speake a word con-  
cerning the Oath, which *Theodidast*  
buildeth vpon them, as vpon foure  
pillers

pillers. And to beginne with the first,  
that the king hath power from God only, inde-  
pendently of the Commonwealt.  
And because this is the ground of all his di-  
rect course, and of the other three I will  
do more fully shew the vnfoundnes there-  
of, that the world may see, that *Theodi-*  
*they* act, as either a most vnkilfull Archi-  
tect that layes so weake a principle of  
the building he piers to raise to the  
skye; or a subtile Arch-traytor pur-  
posely placing the Soueraignty of  
Kings, which he desires may fall vpon  
a most ruinous foundation.

Three be the wayes, by the which  
men come to be Kings: popular electi-  
on: lawfull conquest; Gods personall  
appointment specially reuealed. I say  
specially reuealed, for I nothing doubt  
but Kings by the two other titles be  
made by Gods speciall prouidence.  
The title of election depends on mens  
chartes. The title of Conquest vpon  
battailes, which are two things most  
uncertaine, and their successe only in  
Gods hand, who bestoweth popular  
fauour and victory in warre on whom  
he will. For this reason it is sayd that,  
*Kings*



**Prouerb. 8.** Kings raign by him; that he placeth the in their  
**Iob 36.** throne; ruleth in the Kingdome of men; giueth  
**Daniel 4.** it to whome soeuer he please, not that he  
 maketh Monarches without secundary  
 causes; but because these secondary  
 causes worke not, but by the speciall  
 direction of his hand: Wherefore the  
 titles of Election and Conquest be spe-  
 cially from God, though not only &  
 immediatly from him, as is the third  
 clayme, when God by speciall reuelation  
 declares his will to haue some cer-  
 tayne person King, as he did *Saul* and  
*Dauid*,

*Philanax.*

You omit Succession, which is a  
 clayme to the Crowne.

*Aristobulus.*

Succession in blood is not a prime  
 and originall title, but a meanes to de-  
 riueto posterity these three fornamed  
 claymes from Auncestors that first en-  
 ioyed them; none of which titles do  
 sufficiently institute a person King,  
 without the consent of common-  
 wealth. When a King is made by ele-  
 ction

tion the case is cleere; but the Conqueror seemes to come to the crowne against the Commonwealths will. In deed the right of Conqueror he may haue, will they nil they; yet Royall authority ouer them he cannot haue without their graunt. The right of lawfull Conquest binds the state conquered to make the conquerour their King vpon iust conditions which he may prescribe heauy or hard according to the quantity of their offence. Yf they refuse to yield, he hath the right of the sword to force them, not the right of Prince to gouerne them, till they consent. This consent being yielded, then there begins a new Society and Commonwealth compacted of Gonquerors and the people conquered, and the Prince of the conquering side becomes Kinge to gouerne them both according to the lawes and conditions agreed vpon: which conditions if he neglect, he is no lesse subiect and corrigible by the Commonwealth, then Kings made by election.

When God personally appoints  
any



any one to be King, as he did Saul, & David, neither then haue Kings power immediatly, and only from God. God is sayd to haue made Saul, and David Kings, because he eternally decreed they should be Kings, in due tyme reuealed this his will, gaue commandment to his people, and effectually stirred vp their hartes to make them Kings. These are remote titles and a farre off: but it can neuer be proved that in making Saul and David Kings, the peoples graunt did not concur with Gods, yea the Scripture signifies that it did, saying, all the people

1. Reg. 11. 35 went to Galgala and made Saul King before the

2. Reg. 5. Lord. The elders of Iudah and Israel annointed David King ouer them.

### Philanax.

Some say, the people made Saul and David Kings, not by giuing them Kingly power this was from God only; but by manifesting that they were Kings, by approving them Kings made by God, by putting them into the possession of their Kingdomes to exercise regall authority.

*Aristobulus.*

I know that Theodidact answereth in this sorte, but proof of his sayings he bringeth none. Doth he thinke the pillar of Soueraignty stands firme enough vpon his bare word? What if one say, that the people did likewise con-  
 cur with God to make them Kings, can Theodidact thinke you cleerly con-  
 vince him? Verily this concourse of God and people to make a King is insinua-  
 ted in Deuteronomy, *Thou shalt make him Deut. 17.*  
*King whom thy Lord God hath chosen for thee,*  
 signifying that God designed the per-  
 son, but the people made him King  
 by bestowing authority on him. And  
 seeing God vseth not to do things on-  
 ly by himselfe when secondary agents  
 be present sufficient to worke them;  
 why may we not thinke that God ha-  
 ving designed the persons of Saul and  
 David, left the making them Kings to  
 the people of the Iewes, who had no  
 more power then other free Common-  
 wealthes to constitute for themselues  
 Gouvernours and Kings?

Heere you may see in what danger  
 to



to fall, regall supremacy is, which The  
*odidact* buildeth vpon this discourte  
*Saul* and *Dauid* had power only an  
 immediatly from God, therefore th  
 same isto be beleueed of other Kings  
 The antecedent is vncertaine, and ca  
 neuer be proued, as hath beene sayd  
 but much more seely is the cōsequenc  
 which extendeth Gods speciall fa  
 uours shewed to his people in th  
 choice of their Kings, to the generalit  
 of Kings and Nations. God fed his  
 people in the desert with bread made  
 by the hands of Angells; may we the  
 inferre that men haue no bread bu  
 cōmeth immediatly from heauen?

But (to omit these Kings that were  
 by Gods expresse comission personall  
 designed) that other Kings haue power  
 oly frō God, is a paradox which scarce  
 any Christian Deuine houldes. Can  
 tholicks, Puritans, forraine Prote  
 stants, euen our English Conform  
 tants, deriue regall authority from the  
 Commonwealt. Let the truth be  
 tryed by the testimony of two. Can  
 name any grauer Authors in our  
 Church then *Doctor Bilson* late Bishop

Th of Winchester & M. Hooker? The first in  
his Treatise of Christian Subiection  
and debateth this question, and defineth  
that Kings are not only creatures of  
the Commonwealth; but also in some  
cases, may be deposed by the supream  
jurisdiction thereof. And that Chilperick  
was iustly deposed by his Nobles, and  
Pipin chosen King in his place. M. Hooker  
hath these wordes: all publick regiment  
of what kinde soeuer seemeth evidently to haue  
risen from deliberate aduise, and consultation,  
and composition betwene men ordeyning the  
same, and yeilding themselues subiect thereto,  
without which consent there were no reason  
that one man should take vpon him to be Lord or  
uerudge ouer others. And againe: To Fathers  
within their priuate families na-  
we are bath giuen supreme power: howbeit ouer  
whole grande multitude, hauing no such de-  
pendency vpon any one, and consisting of many  
families, impossible it is that any one should haue  
complete and full power, without consent of  
them. He graunteth indeed that some  
Kings and law-makers as Moyses, Saul,  
and Dauid were authorized by God, and by  
express commission immediatly and personally  
appeared fro him, out of this case (saith he)

The true  
difference  
Cc. p. 4216

l. 1. Eccles.  
polit. p. 726

ibid.



the power of government and making lawes to  
 commaund whole politick societies of men, be-  
 longeth so properly vnto the same entire socie-  
 ties, that for any Prince or Potentate vpon earth  
 of what kinde soeuer, to exercise the same  
 himselfe, not by authority deriued at the first  
 from their consent vpon whose persons they im-  
 pose lawes, it is no better then meere tyranny.  
 Thus he writeth, and thus our own  
 Authors ouerthrow Theodidacts new  
 pillar of Soueraigntie, proclayming  
 those Princes playne tyrants that clayme  
 power deriued from God and nature  
 and not originally from the graunt  
 and cōsent of their subiects. For which  
 their opinions reasons may be brought  
 very vrgent. The practise of all Coun-  
 tryes that haue trāsferred the Crowne  
 from family to family haue restrayned  
 and enlarged the boundes thereof by  
 politick lawes. What reason, if we re-  
 spect only the law of God and nature  
 why Spaine should be governed by a Mo-  
 narch, rather then Venice? That in  
 England women may succede to the  
 Crowne, frō which they are excluded  
 in France? That in Scotland the Crowne  
 descendeth to the neerest in bloud, and

In Poland the Kinge is made by the free choice of States? What is the reason that by the law of nations the whole Commonwealth may be punished & brought into bondage for the sinnes of their Prince? Why shold the Princes crimes be imputed to them, if it were in their choice, neither at the first to haue him, nor afterward to want him? Without question the generall voice of humane kind is, that Commonwealthes haue power to make Princes, and vpon iust reason vnmake them: and therfore they are accountable to other neighbouring States, if they admit one to the Crowne with their injury, or finding him incorrigible do not remoue him. Whence ariseth that strong inclination in subiects to fight for their Prince, to wit from loue, to iustify their owne doings & the States publick iudgment of their Princes worthines.

*Victor. re-  
lect. 3. de  
potest. ciui-  
li. Mol. de  
iure & in-  
stit. tom. 2.  
trac. 2. d.  
110.*

*Philanax.*

It cannot be well denyed but the consent of the Commonwealth either free or enforced by Conquest, concur-



reth to the making of the Prince, but Theodidact sayth, that is, not the originall and mediate fountaine of this authority. Heate, moisture, colde, and our temper arising from them, are preparations whereby our bodies are made fit receptacles for the soule, but the Creator of our soule is God: so Princes haue their claymes and titles by election or conquest, but the prime Author of their power is God, & as they receaue their power only from God, so for the good or euill administration thereof they are accountable only to God.

*Aristobulus.*

This discourse of Theodidact groundeth Royall authority vpon another vncertainty, which Deuines debate in their schooles: whether royall power be produced by the Commonwealth when Kinges are made, or being created by God together with mankind from the beginning, is communicated by the Commonwealth to their Kinges. Some say, that the Commonwealth making Kinges, produceth a new kinde of power which before was not: whence they inferre that the Commonwealth hath a more eminent authority than

*Molin. to.  
1. de iure  
tract. 2.  
disp. 26.  
Driedo de  
libert. l. 1.  
c. 15.*

then the Kinge, as being able to giue  
being to his power: others, whom  
rather approue, teach that regall au-  
thority was created immediatly of God  
together with mans nature, and is for-  
mally in euery absolute and free state:  
which state when they chooseth for the-  
selues a Kinge, doth not produce a new  
kind of power which was not before,  
but the royall Soueraignty which God  
created and bestowed vpon them, they  
transferr from himselfes to the per-  
son elected, by which coniunction of  
the Commonwealths power, with  
his person, he is created King. In the  
like manner parents produce children,  
not by producing the soule which is  
of God only, but by conioyning the  
soule created of God to the bodie pre-  
pared and designed by generation  
from herunto. True then is the saying of  
Paul: *Omnis potestas à Deo est*: All power is  
from God, and only immediatly frō God:  
but ioyned with particuler persons,  
cannot without the mediation of man.  
Hence, saith Tertullian, cited by this  
Orator, Kings haue their power whence  
their spirit, both created by God only,

*Victor?*  
*relect. de*  
*poteft. cini-*  
*li. 8. &*  
*Couarr. de*  
*practica*  
*quæst. c. 1.*  
*n. 6.*

*Rom. 13. 2.*

*Pag. 46.*



but as the spirit is not infused into the bodie without the concurrence of Parents, so neither is Royall power vnited with this or that person, but by the consent of their Country. You see that euen in this opinion Kings are no lesse beholding to the Common wealth for their authority, then Children to their Parents for their soules, whose being parents concurre, only designing the matter, and making the same a fit receptracle for their soules. Vayne then is Theodidact's subtilty to make Kings beholding to God only, and no lesse vayne is his speculation to proue their exemption from men. King (saith he) as they receaue their power from God only, so for the good or euil administratiō thereof, they are accountable only to God. Who seeing not the weaknes of this inferēce, though the antecedent were true? The soule of man is of God only, yet for wordes and deedes proceeding from the same, men are accountable to mortal Superiours. The power of Father ouer his child, and the power of husband ouer his wife, is of God only; yet for the administration thereof they may be called to ac-

account by the Commonwealth, yea  
his authority which God hath given  
them, when they tyrannize over wife  
and children, the Commonwealth  
may restrain, or utterly take from  
them. To conclude, and summe vp  
his whole discourse in few wordes.  
That *Saul* or *David*, or any King had  
power only from God, is at the least  
uncertainty, thence to infer the  
that of all Kings is a meer vanity That  
all Kings haue power from God only,  
with no probability. Graunt all: yet  
soveraignty cannot out of these prin-  
ciples be concluded, seeing some  
King's power only from God may be subor-  
dinate to superiors on earth. *Theodidas-*  
*ius* did he not desire that royal Soue-  
reignty should fall, would he (thinke  
ought) strive so earnestly to haue the  
state builded on this heape of sand.

*Philanax.*

Doth not this doctrine, that  
all things are made by the consent of the  
Commonwealth, impare the Maie-  
sty of Kings, and the reuerence and  
obedience due thereunto?



*Aristobulus.*

No; but rather increase the same more then the contrary conceipt. For if men be made to the image and likeness of God, sonnes of God, and God on earth, principally in respect of the soueraignty they haue to rule themselves and other Creatures, when this diuine Maiesty of nature is wholly transferred from the Communalty to one person; how sacred & venerable may he be thought, as in the beginning of the world, the waters that were vnder the Heauens gathering into one place, made this vast ocean we see; the heavenly giift of Soueraignty diffused in every free and absolute state when they by common consent emptying & exhausting themselves, derive the same to one person, becomes a fountaine or rather a mayne sea of Maiesty and power; which humane in regard of the person which it is, & the manner it comes vnto him: but diuine, if we looke to the spring whence it originally and immediately floweth. To which pur-

pose the Poet singeth not amisse

— *Terra Dominos, pelagique futuros*  
*Immenso decuit rerum de Principe nasci.*

*Philanax.*

I am satisfied, & see plainly that  
this immediate receauing power frō  
God only, is but an empty title with-  
out substance, which his Maiesty will  
not regard, being full of true glory.  
Alexander was not wise in his vaine am-  
bition to be thought *Iupiters* sonne,  
whereby he lost their hartes that had  
most helped him to the Monarchy of  
the earth.

*Aristobulus.*

That conceipt is not only idle &  
empty, but also may preiudice Kings.  
As *Hercules* choaked the giant by hol-  
ding him aloft in the ayre, whom by  
throwing against the ground he could  
not ouercome: so the enemies of Kings  
whome by their doctrine, that depre-  
ssed them vnder the feete of common  
people, they could not make way  
with flattering subiectes, they lift to  
the skyes that they may more dange-  
rously



roussly fall. For such conceipts by raising Kings beyond measure about the heads of their subiects, remoue them much further frō their hearts, which are (whatsoeuer flatterers say) the immediate fountaine of their greatnes, & the only seat of security they may trust vnto. Such Monarches as thought themselves sure, being feared, thought they were also hated, haue left behind them lamentable documents, that they were deceaued: and that the saying of a prudent historian is most true. *Nullum stabile regnum nisi beneuolentia munitum*, No King can long raigne who is not walled in and guarded about with the Loue of his subiects. Mans loue with ease descendes to persons vnder him either by naturall descent which is the cause they loue so deerly their Children, or by voluntary subiection, which is the reason we loue them that do freely deuote themselves to our service. Neither did God in the treasure of his infinite wisdom finde any better meanes to wyne mans affection then to descend both to re- ceane life and being from man, glory-

*Æmilius  
Probus in  
Dione.*

raising to be stiled the *sonne of man*, and after-  
ward to live as an humble servant  
of man, performing the greatest ser-  
vice of Charity, to dye for him. It  
cannot be thought how lovely to man  
the Majesty is, that professeth to come of  
his stocke, and to be wholly consecra-  
ted to his love: you may by this ghesse  
how pernicious this new doctrine is,  
that dryeth vp these two fountaines,  
that of peoples affection towards their  
Prince, by making him skorne to be  
thought (though *S. Peter* so tearmes  
him) the creature of man, much lesse  
their servant, rather then absolute  
Lord that may dispose of their lives &  
their things at his will.

Contrary to this was the iudgmēt  
of all the worthiest and best Roman  
Emperors that raigned happily and  
died quietly in their bedds. They did  
most willingly acknowledge the Em-  
pire to be the guift of the people and  
Senate: they were much more carefull  
of their Subiects good, then of their  
owne, yea they seemed not to regarde  
treasons against their persons that  
were not ioyned with other publicke  
detriment.



44 *God and the King.*

*Plinius in  
panegir.  
Traian.  
Dio in  
Traiano.*

detriment. Amongst these, *Traian* is  
eminent, who being chosen Emperour  
straight in the hands of the Consull  
swore allegiance & fealty to the com-  
monwealth: and when he made the  
Pretor to gouerne in his name accor-  
ding to the ceremony, deliuering the  
naked sword, sayd to him: *Vse this sword  
for me if I gouerne iustly, if otherwise vse it a-  
gainst me.* By which resignation both  
of state and life, into the Common-  
wealthes hands, he more secured them  
both, then any enforced Oath, that he  
held the Crowne from God only,  
could haue done.

*Philanax.*

You haue shewed the first propo-  
sition of *Theodidact* to be neyther a solid  
ground of soueraignty, nor a doctrine  
apt to nourish in subiects minds, affe-  
ction to their Kings. I desire you wold  
passe to the examination of the second:  
that Kings haue no Superior that may call him  
to account, or punish him, but God alone.

*Aristobulus.*

Heere *Theodidact* goeth forward  
in building the soueraignty of Kings  
either

either vpon manifest falshood, or troubling vncertaincties. That the King hath no superior, but God alone, that may punish him, all learned men generally, Papists, Puritans, Protestants deny.

*Philanax.*

I do much wonder that you say Protestants teach, that the King may be sentenced and punished by any man vpon earth. I thinke you meane Puritans, not our Protestants that properly, esse to follow the Religion established by Parliament.

*Aristobolus.*

I meane Protestants that are enemies of Puritans, and conformable to the state: and to increase your wondering I add, that how soeuer the word *Supreme Governour*, and Head of the Church go currant in England, yet in sense our Deuines giue our Kinge no greater authority in causes Ecclesiasticall then Papists do. I desire not to be beleued vnlesse I make what I haue sayd, euident by the testimonies of them,



46 *God and the King.*

them, that haue lately written about  
this argument.

First concerning the ver  
title, they say, the King hath no  
*Confut. p. 3. & 36.* any spirituall Ecclesiasticall power  
*Respons.* all, his power (sayth doctor Morton, now  
*pro. Tortura* Bishop of Chester) is but corporall, and ca  
*Torti. p. 239.* go no further then the body. He hath (sayth  
*Tompson in elench. refut. p. 51.* M. Burbill) no iurisdiction in the Church ey  
ther for the inward or outward Court: his power  
is meere temporall and laicall, nor in it self  
spirituall, though the matter and object thereof  
be spirituall: such power, and no greater, sayth  
M. Richard Tomson, then lewes, Infidels  
and Turkes haue ouer the Christian Church  
within their dominions.

Secondly concerning Controuer  
sies of sayth, the Deane of Lichfield  
doctor Tooker disclaymeth as an im  
*Duel. cōtra* pudent slander, that the Church of  
*Becan. p. 3.* England holdes, the King to be their prima  
or head, or iudge of Controuer­sies about faith  
and Religion. To the Apostles Christ gaue power  
to gather Councells, and to define solemnly the  
Churches doubts. The sentence of Councells  
*Concord. Angl. p. 43.* (sayth M. Richard Harris) hath without the  
*Ibid.* King the force of an ecclesiasticall law: the King  
addes thereunto corporall penalty. M. Morton  
sayth,

sayth, that Imperiall and Kingly authority in  
 spirituall causes, reacheth no further, then as it  
 longeth to outward preservation, not to the  
 personall administration of them, neither doth  
 the King challenge, nor subjects condescend vnto  
 more. But most cleerly M. Barlow late  
 Bishop of Lincolne. The King (sayth he) in  
 controuersies about sayth, hath not iu-  
 dicium definitiuum, sentence definitiue, to  
 ascerne what is sound in diuinity: but when the  
 Church hath determined matters of sayth, he  
 hath iudicium executiuum, sentence exe-  
 cutiue, to commaund the professing therof  
 within his Kingdomes.

Barlow in  
 his answere  
 to a name-  
 lesse Catho-  
 like p. 171.

And is not this the very doctrine  
 of Papists, and that doctrine which  
 formerly our Arch-bishop Bancroft re-  
 futed with great scorne, as disgrace-  
 full to Kings, making them, but Car-  
 dinals Ecclesie, the executioners of the  
 Churches will and pleasure?

Suruey of  
 the holy  
 Discipl. p.  
 254.

Thirdly concerning the offices of  
 this power, they teach, the King hath no  
 power to vse any censure, or to cast any out of  
 the Church by sentence, but his office is to punish  
 them with corporall chastisement, on whom Bi-  
 shops haue laid their censures. The King doth  
 not make or vnmake Bishops, they are made by

Tortura  
 Torti. p.  
 151.  
 Tooker  
 Duel. p. 15.  
 Tomson  
 Elench. p.  
 81.

the



Tooke  
Duell. p. 6

Answer  
to a name-  
less. p. 172.

Duell. pag.  
311.

Quod  
Ambrosio  
licuit in  
Theodo-  
siu, idem  
& alij in  
Regem  
simili de  
causa li-  
ceat. Bur-  
hill. ibid.

139.

Theodor. l.

9. Histor. c.

30. Ruffin.

l. 12. c. 18.

Nicen. h. l.

12. c. 41.

the Bishops of the Kingdome, as by them they are  
desposed and vnmade. The King hath right to  
name and present persons to benefices, as other  
laymen of lower conditiō haue, but benefices ei-  
ther with cure or without cure, great or little,  
he neither doth, nor euer did bestow, much lesse  
the ecclesiasticall dignities, as the Bishopricks &  
Arch-Bishopricks of his Kingdome.

Fourthly, concerning the Kings  
sudordination to Bishops, Doctor Bar-  
low highly commendeth the saying of  
Ambrose: Bishops (in matters concerning  
faith) are to iudge of Emperors, not Emperors  
of Bishops. The Deane of Lichfeild saith,  
that, the King is, and with Valentinian Empe-  
ror doth acknowledge himselfe the sonne and pu-  
pill of the Church, and the scholler of the Bishops.  
What more do papists require? Can he  
then iudge, & teach his Fathers, Iudges  
and Maisters in those thinges where-  
in he is their sonne, pupill, and  
scholler? Finally M. Burbill saith, that  
the King supreme gouernour of the Church  
may by his Bishops be cast out of the Church,  
What Ambrose did lawfully to Theodosius, our  
Bishops may do lawfully to the King for the like  
offence. And what did Ambrose to The-  
odosius? He cast him by sentence out  
of

of the Church: he stood ready to keepe  
him out by force, and called him Ty-  
rant to his face: he forced him to e-  
nact a temporall law concerning the  
execution of the sentence in matters of  
life and death: he commanded him  
out of the quire or the place of Priests,  
sent him into the body of the Church  
to pray with laymen. And may the  
Bishop of Canterbury lay the same  
punishments on his Maiesty? yea  
(saith the Bishop of Ely) perchance the  
Pope may excommunicate the Kinge, & deprive  
him of the common goods of the Church.

Tortur.  
Tort. p. 196  
Suruey of  
holy Disc.

Doc you see to how many censures,  
Protestants make the King subiect?  
Truly I see not how any Religio doth  
or can make Kings more absolute,  
and subiect to fewer Superiors, then  
Papists doe, The Puritan will haue them  
subiect to the Pastor of euery parishe that hath  
a Consistory, as our Bishop Bancroft sayth  
They banish one Pope and admit a thousand.  
The Protestant makes them obnoxious  
to the censure of Bishops without any  
restraynt; wheras the Romanists out  
of respect to the Maiesty of Kings, re-  
serue the power of censuring them to

p. 254.  
Reges no  
nisi à Papa  
excommu-  
nicantur  
& césuris  
ligantur.  
Emman.  
Saa, verb.  
Excomm.  
15. Enri-  
quez l. 13.  
de excom.  
c. 14. Sayr.  
in Thesau-  
l. 1. c. 9. 3. 7

D

the



the supreame Pastor.

But to returne to *Theodidaet*: You see he keepeth his custome to ground all legiance due to Kings, vpon doctrine cyther questionable, or denied of all sides; his second proposition, that the Kinge is free from all punishment that mā may inflict, being rather more vncertaine, then his first, that Kings haue their power only from God.

*Philanax.*

It seemeth by your discourse, that *Theodidaet* makes Kinges more absolute then other Protestants doe, & teacheth against them, that the King may not be excommunicated, or cast out of the Church. For he sayth, that the Kinge is free from all punishment that man can inflict & excommunication without doubt is a great punishment: Ministers without question, are men.

*Aristobulus.*

It is hard to say, what *Theodidaet* holdes: this his ground of Soueraignty The Kinge hath no superiour but God alone, in

slippery and vncertayne, that he dares  
 not stand vpon it himself. For els-  
 where contradicting this principle, he  
 saith in playne termes, that, Kings that *Pag. 58.*  
 haue giue their names vnto Christ are sheepe of  
 his fold, & so are to obey their spirituall pastors *Pag. 58.*  
 hauing oversight ouer them: that they are to be  
 obedient vnto their spirituall Pastors, as Em-  
 bassadors from Christ: that, Kings and Bishops  
 be mutually Pastors, and Superiors one to the *Pag. 57.*  
 other. Yt Bishops be ouerscers, Pastors,  
 Superiors to the King; how is it true,  
 that the King hath no superiour but  
 God alone? Yt nothing be more excellent, no-  
 thing more sublime then a Bishop, as our  
 Theodidact, approuing S. Ambrose his *De dignit:  
 sacer. c. 3.*  
 saying, teacheth, to wit in spirituall  
 and Ecclesiasticall causes, which to ad-  
 minister they are sent; how can a King *Pag. 60.*  
 be more excellent then a Bishop in  
 those causes? Is it possible that the same  
 man should be superior and subiect to  
 the same persons in respect of the same  
 Court? I confesse I cannot vnderstand  
 this diuinity, that subiects may iudg  
 their Superiors, euen in thole causes,  
 wherein they are subordinate to them.  
 That, the Kinge supreme Governour of the



Church, may be sententially summoned, arraigned, and cast out of the Church by a Bishop. Yf soueraigne Princes may be iudged by their subiects in those causes where in they are supreme and independant, what doth their supremacy auaille them? Yf supreme gouernors of the Church may be cast out of the Church, by their Bishops that are their spirituall subiects; what solid reason can *Theodidact* assigne why Soueraignes may not likewise be cast out of their Kingdomes by their Barons and Peeres, though they be their vassalls?

*Philanax.*

I could wish our Authors, concerning the Kings supremacy, spake more coherently, yet seeing this proposition the King hath no superior but God alone, doth so much extoll the Soueraignty of Kings, I can not be brought to forsake *Theodidact* herein, except by the confutation of his reasons I perceame this pillar of Maiestye to be vncertaine, and vnsound.

*Aristo*

*Aristobulus.*

Small reading and skill in Scripture is sufficient to shew, that Theodidacts arguments against Papists be not so convincing as we may securely ground the authority of Kings thereupon. For either they make nothing to the purpose, or els proue what Papists do not deny, that the King is supreme in temporalls.

His mayner round and principle is, that in the old Testament Priests were not superior to Kings, but rather that Kings were their Iudges: Could he haue assumed a doctrine more vncertaine, or rather more false, then is this? A doctrine against the learnedst of the Iewes. Iosephus saith, that to their Priests not to Kings was committed the custody of the Law, and the charge of greatest affaires: *quāto Deus* so that they were ouerseers of all, Iudges of controuersies, and punisher of offenders. Philo *homini, tāto pontificatus regno excellentior.* writeth that Priestly dignity is preferred before royall, by the Iewes, who iudge Priesthood by so much the more excellent then Royalty, by



## 54. God and the King.

how much God surpasseth man. With whom

*Homil. 4.* agree the Christian Fathers, namely *Super verb. S. Chrysostome*, auerring, that God would

*Isa. vidi dominum.* haue Kings submit their heads to the hands of

Priests, that men might vnderstand that Priests are more worthy Princes, and more venerable

then are Kings. Yea the word of God seemeth to distinguish the office of high

Priest, from the office of King, assigning to the high Priest the care of things that

*4. Reg. c. 22.* pertayne to God, to the King the charge of temporall affayres. And who (conuersant

*Deut. 17. 12.* *Qui autē superbie-* in the old Testament) knoweth not, that to the high Priest was giuen the

*rit,* supreme and last power to decide all controuersies about the law? *nolens* Whosoever

*obedire imperio,* shalbe proude and refuse to obey the sentence of the Priest, let that man dye the death.

*morietur homo.*

*Philanax.*

These testimony of the Fathers and Scriptures seeme very vrgent: But hath not Theodidact made some answer to them?

*Aristobulus.*

No: nor brought any proof of his opinion, besides the bare example of

*Sale-*

Salomon, that deposed Abiathar the high Priest Dial. p. 48<sup>2</sup>  
 and placed Sadocke in his room. But first he  
 proues not that Salomon deposed Abia-  
 thar lawfully, that therein he exceeded  
 not the boundes of his authority. The  
 deeds of Kings be not euer iustificable,  
 nor was Salomon such a Saint, that we  
 may thinke all his actiōs praiſeworthy  
 without further proof. Secondly he  
 proueth not that Salomon deposed Abia-  
 thar by the ordinary power of King. Sand. l. 2.  
 Papiſts ſay, Salomon did in that action v<sup>ſ</sup> ſib. Mon.  
 proceed not as King, but as Prophet. c. 3.  
 Which anſwere Theodidact doth not Stapleton.  
 confute, but miſynderſtand, as though princ. doct.  
 they meant that Salomon was therefore a l. 3. c. 3.  
 Prophet, becauſe he fulfilled what God Bell. l. de  
 had foretold againſt the houſe of Heli, conc. 20.  
 which he reiecteth with a ieſt, that ſo Dial. p. 49.  
 Herod might be tearmed a Prophet in murtbe-  
 ring the Innocents, becauſe therein he fulfilled, Act. 1. v.  
 what God by Ieremie had foretolde. But 14.  
 the Papiſts be not ſo abſurde as to ſay  
 that whoſoeuer fulfilleth a prophecy,  
 is a Prophet, nor that Indas in betraying  
 his Maſter, and hanging himſelf was  
 a Prophet, though therein he fulfilled  
 prophecies. They ſay that God, to the



end that what he had threatned against the house of *Heli*, might come to passe, he gaue to *Salomon* propheticall & extraordinary Commission to depose *Abiathar* high Priest of the stock of *Heli*. *Salomons* royall authority not being sufficient for the lawfull performance thereof. Which doctrine is so solid that *Theodidact*, not being able to overthrow it by argument, thought good to make it ridiculous by mistaking it. Finally though we graunt that *Salomon* deposed *Abiathar*, and by Kingly authority; the most that may be hence inferred is, that *Salomon* was supreme in temporall affaires, and might punish Priests in case of Treason. Which notwithstanding in things pertayning to God, Princes might be subiect to the high-Priest, & for spiritual crimes tending to the overthrow of Religion might be deposed.

And in my opinion it is want of iudgment in them that would be thought friends to Kings, to stir the stories of the old Testamēt, which, for one high Priest deposed by a King without cleere approbation of the fact,

ed a fact, yeeldeth two soueraigne Princes  
me deposed by the high Priest, and their  
all deposition warranted by the holy  
epos Ghost. Did not *Iehoida* high-Priest de- *2. King. xi.*  
*Helipole Athalia* Queene, pronounce sen-  
eince of death vpon her, and in her  
and roome make *ioas* King? Did not *Aza-*  
olid *rias* high-Priest cast King *Ozias* out of *2. Chron.*  
uer the Temple? depriue him of govern- *26.*  
good ment for his presumptuous vsurping  
g it the Priestly office, to offer incense to  
*Salom* the Lord? What needed *Theodidact* to  
ngly prouoke Papists to bring forth these  
ence examples for the Popes authority two  
em for one, and such as he to aunswere  
pu the is driuen to very hard shifts? What  
ich he saith concerning *Athalia*, that she *Dial. 53.*  
g to was not lawfull Queene but an vsurper, he  
the neither proueth, nor is it very proba- *2. King. vi.*  
en ble. She came blodily & vniustly to the *Inuasor fit*  
on Crown, but this doth not couince that *legitimus*  
of she was not afterward rightful Queen. *Princeps,*  
be They who themselves, or whose aun- *si successu*  
he cestors come to the Crowne vniustly, *temporis*  
or be made Lawfull Princes, when they *populus*  
ng are freely admitted by the state with- *consentiat*  
ne out debatable contradiction, though *& admit-*  
perchaunce some may suruiue, that in *tat talem.*  
the *Suarez. de*  
*leg. l. 3 c. 4.*



the sight of God hath better right of bloud. And no doubt can be made, but *Atbalia* was admitted with generall consent for six yeeres, when *Ious* lay hidden, none standing in open competency against her: That this consent was not free but inforced, can neither be proued nor cleerly confuted. So *Theodidacts* solution is grounded vpon vncertainty.

But his answer to the second instance, about *Ozias*, that the high-Priest *did not cast him out of the Temple by force, but caused him to depart by word and admonition only*, is much more insufficient, and hardly can it agree with the text of Scripture, which sayth that to hinder *Ozias* from burning incense, there entered into the Temple together with *Azarias* fourescore Priests, *viri fortissimi*, stout and valiant men, signifying they went with resolution to vse force and to cast him out (sayth *S. Chrysostom*) not as King but as a fugitive and vngacious seruant. They warned him to desist and to depart, whose admonition when he contemned, God incontinently strook him with Leprosy. His Leprosy the Priests

Pag. 50 51.

2. Chron.  
26. 27.

Chry. hom.  
3. de verb.  
Isa. vidi  
Dominū.

of Priests perceaues shining in his forehead, before he felt it himselfe, and upon sight thereof began out of hand hastily to thrust him out: though, when he felt Gods miraculous chastisement vpon him, he was as willing to go, as they to carry him away. So that in the beginning he was drawne, in the end lead out of the Temple.

—Ducunt volentem fata nolentem trahunt.

*Philanax.*

How might Papists cast him out by force, seeing Chrysostome cited by Theodidact saith, The office of a Priest is only to reprove, and only to admonish, not to moue armes: not vse buckelers, not to shake a lance, but only to argue, and freely to admonish.

Dial. p. 51.  
Homil 4.  
de Verb.  
I/a. vidi  
Dominū.

*Aristobulus.*

The saying of Chrysostome (which Theodidact doth so much magnify) is properly verified, not in the Leuiticall Priests who were warriors as other Tribes, and were chosen to Priestly dignity, for their consecrating their hands to God in the blood of synners: But the saying is true of Christian Priesthood where of they were figures, which abhorreth blood.

Exod. 31.  
8.  
Cruentus  
refugit  
vltiones.  
Leo Ep. 91.  
c. 13. 9. 8.  
Can. 1. 16.  
l'eq.



*Vita Chry-*  
*soft. per*  
*Simeon.*  
*Metaph.*  
*to. i. p. 152.*  
*Paulin. in*  
*eius vita &*  
*Theodor. l.*  
*S. c. 19.*  
*Aduersus*  
*gentiles seu*  
*oratione de*  
*S. Babyla.*  
*tom. 5 pag.*  
*388.*

dy proceedings. But this makes not against what hath been said, that Ozias was callt out by force, because the same Father alloweth that euen Chrillian Priests, thrust wicked Kings out of the Church with their hands, or keep them out forcibly by the interposition of their body. So did he resist *Endoxia* Empresse, and *S. Ambrose* was ready to haue vsed the like force against *Theodosius*: yea the same *S. Chrysostome* highly commendeth the famous Patriarch of *Antioch* and Martyr *Babylas* for keeping a bloody Emperour out of the Church, *impacta in pectus dextera*, giuing him a thrust on the brest: wherby (saith this Father) he taught the world, in what degree Priesthood excelleth Royalty: he taught Kings to keep their power within their bounds prescribed by God: he taught Priests in what sort they were to rule and vse authority over Kings.

*Philanax.*

I see it can hardly be denyed but the Priests cast the King by force out of the Temple: but him (sayth *Theodact*) they did not deprive of his Kingly authority, which he held to his death: for he reig-

Ozias reigned 52. years: which cannot be true, except the years of his leprosy be reckoned as part of his reigne.

*Aristobulus.*

To this obiection of Theodidast S. Homil. 4. Chrysostome his chosen Patron, makes answer euen in that very homily by him cited, saying that Ozias was deprived of Royall authority, yet he still retayned the execution therof: because the people out of respect to his Diademe, and Royall dignity did not execute the sentence vpon him, so that he still remayned in his house, and sat in the Throne transgressing the Law. And that the people did greuously offend in not casting the King by force, from gouernment, the same Father testifieth in these words: This their negligence (saith he) prouoked God to anger, stopped the course of prophesy: that I say saw not the Lord, till Ozias was dead. And consider the mercy of God that did not for this ouerthrow the City nor destroy the inhabitants, but as one friend expostulates with another, so did God with his people, deseruing greater punishment: My people do you feare to expell this impure King? Do you so reuerence his dignity, as to

deverb. 1/a.  
vidi Dominum.  
Dialog. 31.  
Nō eiecerunt eū ē ciuitate  
diadema  
illius regiamque  
dignitatē reueriti,  
sed confedit in throno  
no rursū legē transgrediens.  
Homil. 4.  
Irasceus Deus interruptit Iudæis prophetiā.  
Homil. 4.

trans-



(a) Hanc *transgrefse my law? VVill you not reuenge my*  
 pœnâ regē *quarrell? Nor will I speake with you. I could*  
 ficut aliū *my selfe haue cast him out of the Citty: but*  
 ē plebe *what remayned I left to be finished by you. I cast*  
 pati oport- *him out of my Temple, he being a King, you*  
 tebat. *haue not put him out of your Citty. I bound*  
 Chrysost. *him fast in Leprosy, as in a chayne, and of a*  
 (b) Hic ani *King made him a priuate man: he being now a*  
 mi iam le- *priuate man you haue not set vpon him. VVhom*  
 pra queri- *I condemned you had not courage to cast out.*  
 tur Chrys. *Thus S. Chrysostome, most cleerly tea-*  
 ibid. Aug. *ching the lawfull deposition of Prin-*  
 l. 2. Euang. *ces, and that subiects not only may*  
 quæst. 40. *but are bound to vse force and execute*  
 (c) Hæreti- *that sentence vpon them, when they*  
 cūpostvā *are leprous (a) that is hereticall, and for*  
 correptionē *such declared by the Church. And*  
 deuita. *this is peculiar to heresy, which (spe-*  
 ad Tit. c. 3. *cially being ioyned with persecution)*  
 (d) Nulla *is a (b) leापrous and infectious synne,*  
 cum here- *that when the Prince is namely de-*  
 ticiis cō- *nounced and cast out of the Church*  
 mericiacō- *for it, the (c) Law of God and nature*  
 pulentur. *bindes the Subiects (if they be able) to*  
 Cyprian. l. *(d) separate themselves from him, in*  
 ep. 3. & le- *respect of the daunger. Which seemes*  
 ren. l. 3 c. 3. *a*  
 Tātum A- *buerunt timorem, vt ne verbo quidem communica-*  
 postoli & *rent alicui eorum qui adulterauerant veritatem.*  
 horū dis-   
 cipuli ha-

a doctrine so receaued anciently amongst Christians, that euen the Popes who still stood vpon the priuiledge that they might be iudged by no man, haue euer yeelded themselues and deposeable in this case: neither did Henry the fourth Emperour in his contention with Hidelbrand, or Gregory the seauenth, deny but for heresy he might be deposed. He pleaded he was no hereticke, and that for other crimes the Pope could not depose him. (e) The tradition of Fathers (saith he) is that I am to be iudged by God alone, except I haue declined from the Catholike faith, which God forbid.

This doctrine of the Papists seemes to answer what Theodidact els where objects, that euen the Romanists themselues teach that excommunicatiō not doth free the seruant frō obedience to his maister. For though this be true in excommunication for other crymes, yet heresy is a cryme that hath peculiar force by Christian institution to separate seruants and sonnes from their hereticall Lords and Fathers. One of the Apostolicall ordinations related by S. Clement, is, that Bishops

ought

(e) Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur. Concil. Sin. uess. Synod. Romana sub Sixto 3. Bellar. l. 2. de pont. c. 26. (f) Can. si papa d. 40. Innocent. 4. serm. de consecrat. Pontif.

(g) Ep. ad Gregor. 7. apud magdebur. 1. c. 8. de schismate. Dialog. 83.

Clemens. l. 1. Constit. Apost. c. 18.



ought to cast impenitent hereticks out of the Church, and commaund the faithfull not to haue any manner of conuersation with them. So out of S. Chrysostome they conclude that Christians may no more endure a Prince declared heretike by their supreme Pastour, then the Iewes might suffer a King declared Leaper by their high Priest, whome they were bound vnder payne of g<sup>re</sup>uious sinne to expel as you heard this forsaide Father affirme.

*Philanax.*

I see the old Testament specially according to S. Chrysostomes exposition, doth not very plaussibly prouere gall independency of Priest-hood: hath not Theodidast better arguments out of the new?

*Aristobulus.*

He allegeth diuers testimonies, that euery soule is to be subiect to the higher powers: and of Fathers auerring, that there is no state, nor man in the world equall to the Emperour: Which particularly to relate were to wast paper, seeing these testi-

Page 55.

Rom 13.

Page 60. 61

testimonies proue no more; then what  
 Papists commonly graunt. That Kings  
 are Soueraigne and supreme in tem-  
 porall affaires, within their Domi-  
 nions, That all men whatsoeuer, Prophets  
 Euangelists, Apostles, Priests, Monks that liue  
 within their states, are subiect to their Govern-  
 ment, and to the lawes which they make, for the  
 good of the Common wealth. They proue  
 that primitive Chōstias both laymen  
 & Priests, were bound to pay tribute  
 to the Emperour, & were in criminall  
 causes answerable before the tēporall  
 Magistrate. For the dignity of Priestly  
 state, and the speciall ordinance of  
 Christ exempting them, was not then  
 sufficiently promulgated, nor accepted  
 of by Princes, as afterward it was in  
 gratitude for the benefit of their con-  
 uersion to Christianity, by the prea-  
 ching and labours of Priesthood.

The places then of Scriptures and  
 Fathers shew, that Priests euen Apo-  
 stles, were subiect to the Emperour in  
 causes temporall: but can any man  
 with reason thinke that their testimo-  
 nies import, that vnbeleeuing Em-  
 perours were in all spirituall occur-

E

rences

Bellar. l. 1.  
 de Pontif.  
 c. 19. dand.  
 l. 2. vi.  
 mon. c. 4.  
 Persons  
 let. p. 16. nō  
 26. and  
 Discuss.  
 against  
 Barl. p. 31.  
 Victor.  
 relect. de  
 potest.  
 Eccles. secta  
 4. propoſit  
 4.



Matt. 16.

receives the soueraigne Gouvernours of the Christian Church. That the supreme Pastorship to decide doubtes of faith, gather Councels, or excommunicate disobedient Christiāns, was committed to them. I thinke Protestants will hardely graunt this. Whence Papists inferre, that had Kings byn ordeyned by Christ supreme Gouvernours next himself in the Ecclesiastical hierarchy, he would have provided Christian Kings to furnish that place in the first erecting of his Church. Which seeing he did not, they further deduce that Kings cannot challenge by Christs institution any place of government in Church-affayres: that the keyes of his Church, signifying supreme authority were by him deliuered not to Kings, but to *Peter*, by which gift he made him high steward of his house. Whosoever will be of Christs family, must yield themselves, their swordes, their Crownes, subiect to Peters keyes. Their soules you will say, but not their bodies, not their swordes, not their Crownes. But agaynst this they vrg that, *accessorium sequitur principale*: What is

is accessory and consequent, still follows and waits vpon the principall. The King submitting his person to the Church must needs likewise submit, together with his person, his Crowne and sword, that not only as men, *sed in quantum Reges seruiant Christo*, eue as Kings they be seruants to Christ. In acknowledgment of which superiority Constantine (as *S. Augustin* writeth) *Epist. 62.* *eminentissimum culmen Romani Imperij diadema suum piscatori Petro subiecit*, being the most eminent Soueraigne of the Romain Empire, submitted not only his soule, but his scepter and diademe to the fisherman Peter: to the end that Peters keyes might direct temporall power towards the consecution of eternall life, and to restrayne the same, if at any time the owner thereof should vse it, to the ouerthrow of Christianity.

They bring an history to this purpose out of *Suidas*, concerning *Constantinus* the *Arian*, who seemeth the first that challenged this Supremacy in Church affayres. As he was saith *Suidas*, once sitting in Councell in the midst of many



*Suidas ver-  
bo Leon-  
tius.*

Prelates, Iudge of their Controuersies, Leontius the most holy Bishop of Tripolis reprobued him openly, that being a secular & lay man, he wold meddle with Church-affaires: which saying made that prophane Emperour to conceaue the vndecency of the practise, that out of hand for very shame he desisted. If to the fauorits of Kinges, ancient Fathers seeme ouer playne and bitter, who call them that will gouerne in the Church Anti-christs: so in my opinion wee ought to take heed that our Church disgrace not herselfe, by being base and seruile in this poynt, laying her Keyes vnder the feete of Kings, which is another ex-

*Dial. p. 58.  
and 59.*

treme. What may we think of Theodidact who writes that the Kinge saileth to  
 « heauen in his owne ship, guided by  
 « his owne subiects, ouer whome he is  
 « Iudge, and may punishe them with  
 « death, if he find them (in his opinion)  
 « to deliuer their owne errors in steed of  
 diuine truth. S. Paul were he alieue  
 would preach, that the Church (the  
 ship to conuay passengers to heauen)  
 is not the Kings, but Christs, which he  
 bought with his pretious bloud, and  
 the gouernment therof he committed  
 not

not to Kings, but to Bishops. The two  
 Orthodox Saints and Bishops *Hosius* apud A.  
 and *Ambrose* did they now live, would than sium.  
 say, *Pallaces* belonge to Emperors, Churches to A pol. 1.  
 Priests. The great *Gregorie* of *Nazianzum* Amb. ep. 33  
 were he now living, his doctrine Naz. orat.  
 would be, that Kings are subiect to the tri- ad principē  
 bunall of Bishops, that Priests are the more irascētē.  
 eminent *Gouernours*, not Kings, subiects S. Greg. ep.  
 in Church affayres, but as another *Gre-* ad Herm.  
*gorie* sayth, their Fathers, Maisters and habetur. d.  
*Iudges*: yea that it is miserable madnes for 96. can. 9.  
 Kings to goe about with their wicked lawes to  
 make them be at their command, to whom they  
 know that Christ together with the Keyes gave  
 power to bind in heauen and in earth.

These and the like authorities of  
 Fathers Papists heap together which  
 I haue brought, not that I desire that  
 any thing be detracted from royall au-  
 thority, but to the end that you may  
 see, that it is not wisdom to ground  
 Royall Soueraignty vpon this King-  
 ly Church-primacy, which Prote-  
 stants allow, Puritans detest, Papists  
 with the saying of Fathers shake and  
 batter.



*Philanax.*

Pag. 63.

Otto Fri-  
sing. l. 6. c.  
359

Herein I agree with you, yet that the Roman Bishop hath not this supremacy to depose Kings, I am moved to beleue, by that which Theodidact writeth, that none of them exercised it before the time of Gregory the VII. otherwise termed Hildebrand, who excommunicated and deposed Henry the Fourth Emperour, about the yeare 1073. more then a thousand yeares from Christs ascension, as Otto Frisingensis, liuing neere those times saith: I read and read againe the gestes of the Romane Kings and Emperors, and no where I find any of them, till this man Henry the Fourth excommunicated or deposed by the Bishop of Rome.

*Aristobulus*

I do not desire to proue that authority of the Pope, my drift is to shew that Kings Church-primacy is not aduisely brought and placed as the pillar of their regall Soueraignty. For, to that, which moueth you so much, behold the Papists how easily, and how many things they answer. First deposition being an extraordinary remedy

medy against the persecution of hereticall Princes, not to be vsed, but in cales of extremity; what wonder that practises thereof vpon Romane Emperours have not been many? Moreover for the first 300. yeares after Christ there was no Christian Emperour on whom that power might be vsed. In the other two hundred, the Empire was so mixed of heathens and Christians, that this power could not be conueniently exercised. And for other three hundred yeares there was no Emperour of the west, but only of the east residing in Greece; far from the sight of the Romane Bishops; so that to the Greeke Patriarches did the charge immediatly belong, to proceed with censures, when they were needfull, against Emperors. And against some they proceeded, though not against all; for some were good Princes deserving well of the Church, and others that were bad raigned not long, or were not so violent and incorrigible, as they vrged the Church to vse the last remedy of deposition. Finally that some heretickes and per-



secutors, were not deposed, argues not want of power in Popes, but shewes that circumstances of time, and persons might be such, as either in wisdom and clemency they would not use that power, or els could not with probability of successe, or without danger of greater inconuenience.

Howbeit the saying of *Otho* makes as much against the power of excommunication, as deposition, and is so strong, that I wonder how *Theodidact*, into his fundamentall discourse for soveraignty (if he meant in deede to make it fundamentall) would transcribe so notorious an error in history as this is, that no *Romane* Emperour was excommunicated before *Henry the Fourth*. For, to omit what graue Authors write, that *Philip* a bloody Emperour was excommunicated by Pope *Fabian* the first, *Constantius* the Arian by *Felix* the second; who can deny that *Arcadius* & *Eudoxia* Emperours were excommunicated by *Innocent* the first, for being accessory to *S. Chrysostoms* banishment and death? That *Anastasius* the *Eutychian* Emperour was excommunicated by

*Dial. p. 63.*

*Euseb. l. 6.*

*c. 25.*

*vide Baro.*

*Tom. 3.*

*anno Domini 357.*

*Nicephor.*

*l. 3. c. 34.*

*Symmac.*

*Apolog.*

*ad Anastas.*

by Pope Symmacus, in a Roman Council, as the said Pope writing to the Emperour testifieth in these words; You say, that the Senate conspiring with me, I haue excommunicated you, I haue done so indeed, but therein I follow what hath been done laudably by my predecessors before me. Philip-  
picus the Monothelite was excommunicated by Pope Constantine, who commanded that the name of the Emperour should not be put in any writings publicke or priuate, or set vpon any coyne, either of brasse, siluer, or lead. Leo Isauricus was excommunicated by the Gregories second & third, and as some say deposed, whereby he lost the Empire of the West. Lotharius King, and Brother to Lewis the second Emperour, was excommunicated by Nicholas the first, as Otho Frisingensis relates, and praiseth the Pope for that fact, calling him a religious Priest, and full of the zeale of God.

Marian.  
Scot. a. 712.  
Ado in  
chronico.  
Paulus  
Diaconus  
l. 21. Zonaras  
To. 3. in vita  
Leonis  
Isaurici.  
Sigebert  
717. Platina  
in  
Greg. 3.

You see how false the saying of Frisingensis is, which you stood so much vpon. What may be the drift of Theodidact who so carefully lets out the sayings of Authors, which he knoweth to be most false, and then by force



draweth Royall authority to rely vpon them. This I leaue to your consideration. Nor do I see why his Maiesty should make great accompt of this title of *Supreme head*, the true signification whereof, our authours, when Papists presse them with their arguments, renounce, and which was first vsurped vpon a knowne scandalous occasion, and by O King, whome not only Papists, but also we Protestants point forth as a Monster, that (saith a late Historian) if the memory of former Tyrants, and of their cruelties were dead, his raigne alone might suffice to bring them all againe to life.

Rawley in  
his story  
of the  
world.  
Preface.

Why should his gracious Maiesty runne the course of opposition began by this King, whose name lyes buried in disgrace and infamy, and his posterity turned into rottenesse and dust? especially seeing this King Henry the Eighth as he parted from his noble Father Henry the leauenth his affection towards the Roman Bishop; so likewise he degenerated from the loue that his said noble Father bore to his Maiesties family. For it is wel known  
that

What this first Head of the English Church sought to cast the house of Scotland from succession in the Crowne of England, and to prevent the Blessed union of both Kingdomes we now enjoy. Which blessing rooted in his Majestyes person that it may be continued in the flourishing perpetuity of his Royall yssue, my prayers are, that they may not be driven by flatterers into needlesse contention with the Church against which none euer opposed themselves, that did not either finally yeeld, or vtterly perish.

*Philanax.*

Herein you haue fully satisfied me. Now I desire you to come to the third proposition, and the second pillar of soueraignty deuiled by Theodidact: *Dial. p. 67.* That Tyranny, Infidelity, Heresy, or apostacy be not sufficient causes to release subjects of their obedience to their soueraignes.

*Aristobulus.*

Had you not put me in mind, I should willingly haue forgotten this question. I cannot commend their  
wisdome



\* *Liuis*  
*apud Dion.*  
*in Augu-*  
*sto.*

Ne coram  
 populo  
 natos Me-  
 dæa truci-  
 det.

wisdom that cause or permit Treas-  
 tises that plead for the impunity of ty-  
 rants, to be set forth by his Maiesties  
 special authority. Wil any man thinke  
 this impunity would be so eagerly de-  
 fended, were it not also loued and de-  
 sired? or loued for meere speculations  
 sake, not for the vse and exercise there-  
 of? It is inough for priuate men (as sayd a  
 prudent \* Empresse to her husband)  
 that they be innocent, but Princes seing they go-  
 uerne not brute beastes but men, must also pro-  
 cure not to be suspected: specially in matter of  
 Tyranny, wherein subiects are naturally iealous,  
 and apt to thinke the worst vpon any light occa-  
 sion. Sometymes weake denyalls be  
 taken as graunts. Kings that couldly  
 detest tyranny, may soone be suspected  
 to loue it. Some kind of sinnes may  
 neuer be named, without great shew  
 of execration, some may not be na-  
 med at all, there being no words that  
 can sufficiently expresse the horroure,  
 that when they are named must waite  
 vpon them. Hence it is, that the rules  
 of Tragedy commaund that bloudy &  
 barbarous murders be not represented  
 on the stage, nor related without tra-  
 gicall

geicall declamations against them.

*Indignatur enim priuatis, ac prope socco  
Dignis carminibus narrare scana Thyesta.*

This being the suspicious disposition of men; what may we thinke of Treatises set forth by authority, wherein the bloudest cruelties be related without horror; yea their Authors be named as worthy of honour, not as monsters, deserving banishment from the face of the earth, and memory of mankind? What is this but to cast suspicions that his Maiesty secretly affects such courses, and could finde in his hart that most mercilesse tyranny might raigne impunely? Wherein the wronged done him is exceeding great, his grations disposition being as far, from louing Tyranny, as his happy Raigne from the exercise of it.

*Dial. p. 75.*

*Philanax.*

His Maiesties knowne clemency, & innated auersion from bloud, abundantly confirms what you say. Nor doth he stand vpon this totall impunity of Princes, that he would haue true tyrants liue vncontrolled; but because



cause Common-people are so light-headed and vntayned, that if they be permitted to resist their Prince in any imaginable case of tyranny, they will when they are displeased with him though without cause, straight imagine that then is the cause of lawfull resistance.

*Aristobulus.*

We cannot deny, but this is the disposition of vulgar multitudes, which shewes the wonderfull vncertanity of humane greatnes, and the great dependence that Kings haue on God, in whose hands only are the hartes of the people, so likewise the scepters of kings. God thought best to permit many lamentable examples of Commonwealths cruelties against their Kings, partly to terrify the ambition of mankind, ouer greedy of that honour, partly for the punishment in this life of wicked gouernours, partly for the benefit of good Kings, that they might be more frequently mindfull of death and of the iudgment consequēt there-vpon. As Kings haue extraordinary  
licence

licence and incitements to offend, so  
the diuine wiledome to curbe that li-  
berty, hath provided them besides the  
daungers of common mortality, spe-  
ciall reasons to feare death, and to be  
ready for their finall account. The re-  
medy which *Theodidact* hath inuented  
against this mischief, to wit, that this  
doctrine be continually beaten into  
Subiects eares, that they are bond-men  
to their Princes without any meanes  
of redemption, or liberty to runne  
from them, how cruell soeuer they be-  
come towards them: this remedy (I  
say.) cannot preuent, but may rather  
accelerate the daunger. *Seneca* writes  
that in his time there were such store  
of slaues in *Rome*, that the Senate ha-  
ving made an edict that they should  
weare a certaine marke, wherby they  
might be discovered from freemen,  
they were glad straight to recal it, see-  
ing the daunger that might ensue, if  
slaues should begin to compare their  
multitudes with the paucity of their  
Maisters. Subiects being many in  
number, it is not secure to sound still  
this lesson in their eares, that they are  
slaues

*Lipsius de  
magnif.  
Rom. l. i. c.*



slaves by the condition of their birth bound to endure any horrible cruelties at the Princes pleasure. For first put case they be persuaded that the commonwealth may not in such cases resist without synne, but are bound all one after another to go quietly to the slaughter: yet the feare of offending God will hardly be strong inough to restrayne them from seeking liberty. For seeing by the practise of former times it is knowne that liberty gotten sinfully, being now gotten is continued rightfully; they will rather choose to synne once then to be slaves ever. Secondly men are so strongly by nature inclined to favour their owne liberty, that well may Conquerers compell them by force of armes to endure, but neuer will Doctor by strength of argument conuince them, to thinke that nature hath created the for such slavery, that by right of birth one family may tyranniz without controulment, and others being borne to suffer without releef, or without any lawfull power to resist. Wisdome would haue such hatefull Doctrines kept from common people

people which doe rather stir passion then perswade patience. The directfull apprehension of the miseries of such flauery, will be more potent to awake auersion from kings in Subiects, then any pretended reasons from nature, scripture or history to allay it, though those reasons were cleere & plentiful in this point. The best course then is not to driue people into despaire, and into desperate attempts by vtter denyall of remedy against cruell & mercilesse tyrants, but so to moderate matters, as to remoue the life and state of Kings as much as may be, from popular rashnes.

And this course of moderation I know not any that doe more exactly obserue then the Papists, whome *Theodact* singled out to be his aduersaries. I will breely declare what they hold in this poynt, not standing vpon the truth of their doctrine, but only how honorable to Kings it is, and with what wisdom they haue found out a safe and moderate course betweene *Scilla & Charibdis*, without declyning to fauour, in their doctrine, either the

F

rashnes



*Mel. de  
iustit. &  
iure tom. 1.  
tract. 2.  
disp. 23.*

*Dangerous  
positions 1.  
1. c. 4. vide  
Ricbard.  
Hailum de  
necessit. &  
dignit.  
vnius  
Regis. c. 6.*

rashnes of cōmon people, or the cruelty  
of tyrannons Princes. First then they  
teach that the Kinge is Superior ouer  
the whole Common-wealth, not only  
ouer euery particular subiect & com-  
pany. They disallow the Puritan do-  
ctrine, that the people haue the same power  
ouer Kings, that the King hath ouer euery one  
person. They say allso that the King in  
the necessity of the Common-wealth,  
& the state of the people so requiring,  
may doe things contrary to the laws,  
liberties and priuiledges: that he may  
impose extraordinary tributs, inflict  
extraordinary punishments, not meerly  
for his lust, but for the good of the  
Commonwealth. Finally the King is  
to iudg when the necessity of this  
extraordinary proceeding occurreth,  
nor are bounds to be prescribed to his  
royall priuiledges. This doctrine gi-  
ueth ample power to the King, where-  
by he may both do many thinges very  
extraordinary iustly, and teacheth  
people that they easily condemne not  
their Prince of tyranny, though his  
dealing with them be seuer and ri-  
gorous

Secondly they teach that Kings are *Aquinas*  
 free from bonds of lawes, so as they *1.2.q.96.*  
 may not be called to account nor pu- *art.5.ad 3.*  
 nished, much lesse deposed for ordi- *Suares de*  
 nary and personall offences, or for their *leg.1.3.c.*  
 deeds iniurions only to few. And here- *37. & alij.*  
 upon they detest this proposition of *Dangerous*  
 Puritans, Iudges ought by the law of God to posit. *l.1.c.*  
*(summon Princes before them for their crimes, to*  
*and to proceed against them as against all other*  
*offenders: So that the Common-wealth*  
 cannot by the doctrine of Papists re-  
 moue the Prince from gouernment,  
 but for crymes exorbitant which tend  
 to the destruction of the whole state,  
 nor then neither, except (all other re-  
 medies being first tried to reclayme  
 him) he be found obstinate and incor-  
 rigible in his tyrannous course.

And this shewes the sillines of Theo. *Pag. 676*  
*didacts* discourse, who wold proue that  
 Kings may not in any case be deposed,  
 because *Saul* being a bloudy tyrāt who *1. Sam. 22.*  
 murdered 800. Priests at once, and *18.19.*  
 persecute *Dauid*, was not killed by *Dauid* *1. Sam. 24.*  
 nor deposed, when he fell into his *12 & 21.*  
 hands. But in this argument neither is *21.*  
 the inference good, that no tyrant can *1. Sam. 24.*



be deposed, because *Saul*, a tyrant was not deposed: nor is the instance true, seeing *Saul* was not properly a tyrant. The cruelty that makes a tyrant, must be both obstinate without hope of relenting, and vniuersall tending to the destruction of the whole state: which circumstances were in neyther of these deedes of *Saul*. His murdering so many innocent Priests, was indeed a publick calamity & cruelty, yet therein he was not obstinate, but soone relented, not persecuting Priests in the rest of his raigne. His malice toward *David* was mortall and invincible, but that was not so generall, being confined to one man, and his followers: for the rest *Saul* was an administer of iustice, and a defender of the common good, for which he lost his life.

*Bourchier*  
de iust a ab-

dications.  
Less. de inst.  
l. 2. c. 9. dub

4.

Sess. 151

Dang. po-  
sit. l. 2. c. 1.

Thirdly they teach, that Princes, though they be manifest and incorrigible tyrants, yet may not be deposed, much lesse made away without publick sentence, and a invidicall releasing of his Subiects from their obedience. This their doctrine is defined in the Councell of *Constance* against the ancient Puritanisme of *Iohn Wickliffe*, renewed in this

age by Iohn Calvin, and his followers, holding, that a private man hauing some speciall inward moitiō, may kill a Tyrant. Wherefore so long as the Common-wealth doth endure the tyrant, & not deprive him by publick sentēce, so long private men must endure him, must obey him willingly & for conscience sake. Thus the Fathers cited by Theodidact persua- 1. Pet. 2. ded Christians to obey the ancient persecuting Emperours that were tyrants. 16. 18. Thus S. Peter, as also Theodidact largely vrgeth, commaunded the beleeuing Iewes to obey Claudius a bloody and barbarous Emperour: which must be vnderstood in things not against iustice and religion, & so long as the tyrannous Emperour should be tolerated by the Commonwealth. For who will thinke that S. Peter by that his exhortation meant, that they should obey Claudius further then for the time he should be admitted as lawfull Prince? who can with any probability imagine that S. Peter by that sentence decided the controuersy betwene the Roman Emperour & the Senate, about the right of making and deposing Emperours: and that he de-



fined in behalfe of the Emperour that he might not be deposed by the Senate? & that in case of deposition Christians were still to obey the depriued, not the new erected magistrate? I canot thinke S. Peter dyd desire, that Christians in those times shold busy their heads with these speculations, but simply for conscience sake obey the present Prince they found allowed in the state wherin they liued, so long as he was permitted to rule. It would goe hard with Kings, if their condition were like the Emperour; seeing the greatest patros of Kings dare not deny what Emperors themselves haue acknowledged that they may be deposed by the Senate or Peeres of the Empire. So that these exhortations of Apostles and Fathers to obey tyrannous Princes for the time they be tolerated by the Commonwealth, which Theodidact vrgeth so diffusely, come short of prouing that Princes are in all cases indeposable.

Fourthly the Papists hold that the sentence of deposition must not only be given by a publick magistrate, but also by the whole magistracy and nobi-

*Apolog.*

*pro reg. c.*

4.

*Vestri iuris esse fa-*

*temur (o*

*principes)*

*imperato-*

*re creare,*

*simul &*

*destituere*

*Naucter.*

*gen. 41.*

*an. 11. 12. in*

*Orb. 4.*

nobility of the Commonwealth, or by the far greater part thereof. And for this cause (they say) that neither *Julian* the Apostata, nor *Constantinus*, nor *Valens* Arian Emperours were deposed, which *Theodidact* exaggerateth as an argument of great moment, to proue that Christians can use no forcible resistance against persecuting Princes. But the cause why these hereticall Emperours were not deposed, cannot be proued to haue byn want of authority in the Church, but because there wanted at that time meanes to vnite the whole Empire in the busines of deposing hereticall Emperours. For from the time of *Constantine* to the sack of *Rome* by *Alaricus*, heathens and infidells did abound through the whole *Roman* Empire, many of them bearing chief offices euen in the Senat, who could not be brought nor commaunded to concurre against Emperours for their heresy or apostacy: so that the attempts of Catholiks to depose them could then haue had no other successe, but faction and ciuill warre. Nor could the sentence of the supreme pastor vnite them in that en-



terprize, seeing a great part of the Empire were Infidels (as hath been said) and so not the Popes subiects.

But when the Commonwealth consisteth of only Christians, then heresy and apostacy of the Prince ioyned with persecution ought to breed in them all, a generall dislike thereof: So the sentence of their spirituall Pastor challengeth likewise vniuersal obedience; so that if factiōs grow amongst them, the fault is not in the cause which is common to all, nor in the sentence which bindeth them all, but in themselves that are neither zealous in their Religion, nor obedient to the Church. He that shall consider what orthodoxe Fathers haue written against *Constantine the Arian*, will soon perceauce that the Bishops of the primitive Church were sharpe censurers of hereticall Princes. They rebuke (\*) him for gathering together places of Scripture, that commaund that he be honored and obeyed, omitting other testimonies that giue liberty to resist and bind him to obey his spirituall Pastors. They tell him in playne

tearmer

(\*) *Hæc  
conspicis  
huiusmo-  
di quæ re  
iubent  
honorari  
intelligis:  
quæ vero  
sacrę litte-  
re iubēt te  
facere illa  
in quibus  
te monēt  
sacerdoti-  
bus obe-  
dire, fingis  
non nosse.  
Lucifer. de  
nō parcen-  
do in Deū  
delinquēt.  
fol. 197.*

Em- tearmes (8) they might deale with him  
aid) as the Machabees did with Antiochus whō  
alth they resisted, his armies they over-  
he- threw, cast him from the Kingdome  
ned of Iury. I tell thee Constantius (saith one  
in of those Fathers) hadst thou been in the  
: So hands of Mattathias that zealous priest, so wic-  
stor ked a persecutor as thou art he would haue kil-  
edi- led thee: Thus bouldy writeth that Bi-  
gest shop, which shewes that the reaso why  
anfe Ariā Emperors in those dayes were not  
the deposed, was not want of iust desert  
but in the Princes, nor of power in the  
ous Church, but because the sētence would  
the not conioyne the whole Commonwe-  
hat alth being then mixed of heathens &  
ag- Christians, in the execution thereof,  
one so that the sentence could not be law-  
pri- fully executed without the assistance  
rer of some absolute temporall Prince.  
(\* And this assistance the primitiue  
of Church in those dayes did not neglect  
be to craue of Constantine the most pious &  
her Christian Emperour who tooke vpon  
Gif him the protection of Catholike Bi-  
hall shops that were banished by his Arian  
ne Brother (Constantius) to whome he  
nes sent word, that vnlesse he would re-

Lucifer v.  
bi supra p.  
255.

Socrates l.  
2. c. 18.  
Theodor. l.  
2. c. 8. So-  
zomen. l. 9.  
c. 1. Ni-  
ceph. l. 9. c.  
21.



Theodore-  
tus l. 3. Hi-  
stor. c. 20.  
Nazian.  
orat. 2. in  
Iul. Chrys.  
orat. in S.  
Babylam.  
Sozom. ubi  
supra.  
Nicephor.  
l. 10. c. 34.

store them, *Hostem se illi futurum, nec quicquam nisi bellum expectandum*: that he would become his enimie, and that he should expect nothing from him but warre. And as for Iulian the Apostata, I do fearefully relate what they write. For wheras by some it had byn giuen out that he was by a Christian souldier deprived both of Empire & life, they magnify the stroke whosoever were the Author thereof. And some Christian historiās graunt that, it is not incredible that some Christian souldyer killed Iulian, and defend the fact as most glorious, seeing (say they) not only Pagans, but all men of what religion soever, eue to our age haue allwaies exalted them that haue taken away tyrants, venturing their liues for the liberty of their kindred and country: how much more glorious is it to do this for God and Religion? These sayings and the like may be found in the writings of the Auncients, which I do not bring as approuing them; yea this last of priuate vndertaking against Emperours I vtterly mislike. But this sheweth what I pretend, that it were better wholly to relinquish the discussion of this controuersy, then to pro-  
voke

voke men to produce these authorities, and that they be not wise, or not friends of the King that will needes be stirring in this busines.

Fiftly Papists teach that a Christian Commonwealth may not proceed against their Christian Prince, though he be a tyrant, without the aduise and consent of the supreme Pastor of their soules. This they require not only in the case of heresy and Apostacy, but also when subiects are moued against them for tyrannous oppression of their liues and temporall state. And their reason is because deposition beeing an affaire of singuler moment, ought to be done with the greatest aduise and deliberation that may be. Nor is it secure to commit the cause to the sole Commonwealth, least the people out of passion, the Nobles out of ambition, be ouerforward to proceed against Princes. So that in my opinion Papists take a most mature course, and remoue the life of Kings from the temerity of vulgar affections, one degree further then any other religion whatsoeuer. And seeing man-

Mutatio regnorum que nō interposito sedis Apostolicæ iudicio fit, non legitime sed seditione fit. Sanderus de visib. Monarch. pag. 406. Mol. de iure. to. 1. tra. 2. disp. 12. Omnes Catholici Romanū Pontificē pro Christi vicario habēt, per quē res in tota republica Christiana grauiissimæ semper decidendæ sunt.

Sanderus  
kind vbi supra.



kind with vniuersall consent seeme to allow, that some meanes may be vsed for the commonwealths safety against incorrigible and deplored tyrants: I do not see that humane wisdom could haue inuented a proceeding more discreet and moderate then this of Papists, who, that a Prince may be deposed lawfully, require: First crimes manifest, that can no wayes be excused: secondly crimes exorbitant, tending to the euident overthrow of the whole Kingdome: thirdly crimes with malice, incorrigible, leauing no hope of amendment: fourthly the publicke and vniuersall agreement of magistrates and Nobles of the Commonwealth. Fifthly that the case be proposed, and the deposition approued by their supreme Pastor, and his Counsell abroad.

Finally, to prevent popular rashnes, they further add, that the comonwealth in the execution of the sentence, must proceed *per modum defensionis*, non *per modum punitionis*, by way of their owne defence, not by way of punishing their Prince. And in this

Molin. to.  
1. de iustit.  
tract. 2. dis.  
23. num. 8.

their

their defence they must obserue mode- *Dang. po-*  
*ramen inculcata tutela*, that is, they must *fit. l. 1. c. 4.*  
do no more then is precisely necessary *Card. Pe-*  
for their own defence. Wherefore they *rons Ora-*  
may not, *hauiug deposed their Prince, ar-* *tion, En-*  
*raigne him*, as Puritans teach, that being *g. 156. p.*  
needlesse for their owne safety. The *108. 109.*  
King deposed still retaynes a certaine  
remote right to the Crowne, as it  
were a marke, or politike character  
that discerneth him from meere sub-  
jects: by reason whereof, if he repent  
of his Apostacy, and giue the Com-  
monwealth good security that being  
again restored to gouernment, he  
wil rule moderately, the Commonwe-  
alth may not by taking way his life  
deprive him of his possibility.

*Philanax.*

Your discourse giueth me great con-  
tent to see that Papists in their do-  
ctrine, provide so carefully for the se-  
curity of Princes. That a King be de-  
posed lawfully they require such a ge-  
nerall consent both domesticall and  
forraine, that it seemes scarce possible  
that so many should conspire in passi-  
on,



Executio  
nō ad Pō-  
tificē perti-  
net sed ad  
alios. *Bell.*  
*aduersus*  
*Bark. 6. 10.*  
*Cardinall.*  
*Peron. ora.*  
*pag. 106.*

on, or that any Prince, by this doctrine, loose his Kingdome that is either friended abroad or beloued at home. For if the motion to depose the Prince arise from the Commonwealth, the last decision thereof is referred to the Pope and his Counsell that are forrayners, and not interested in the Commonwealthes quarrell. Yf the treaty of deposition begin from the Pope, the execution must passe through the hands of the Peeres of the Realme spirituall & temporall, whose loue to their Prince will resist the Popes sentence if they find the motine either openly vniust, as grounded vpon temporall pretences, or not cleerly and apparantly iust, as is required in a point of so many consequences. Nor do there want examples of Catholicke Kingdomes that haue stood for their Kings, when they thought that Popes were moued with humane respects: yea I haue noted in the histories I haue perused, and much wondered thereat. Protestants haue beene more forward and heady to follow the sentence of some Ministers or consistency

history against their Prince, then haue Papists beene in obeying the Popes censures for the deposition of their King, that hardly can you name any sentence of deposition that hath been executed, and the Prince turned from his Crowne by his Catholike subiects. Which difference seeing it cannot spring from any greater reuerence, which Protestants beare to their spirituall gouernours (for it is known they do not so much esteeme their Ministers, as the Papists do their Priests) it must proceed from this cause, that Papists loyall loue to their Prince doth somewhat allay their prompt obedience to the Pope, when betweene him and their Prince contentions happen. But you haue so discovered the weaknes of *Theodidacts* arguments, that I haue more cause to feare treason then expect reason in his discourses. I should haue byn glad if the doctrine that makes Kings in all cases indeposable could haue byn proued by solid and inuincible arguments.

*Aristo-*



*Aristobolus.*

How solide and inuincible Theodidacts arguments are, you may giue a ghesse, by this one which he vrgeth very earnestly, that Christians may not depose Tyrants though neuer so cruell enemies of their Religion, because Christ commaundeth the to loue their enemies and persecutors. And verily I could smile to see Theodidact seriously dilate vpon the precept to loue enemies: *VVe must (sayth he) loue them with our harts, blesse and pray for them with our tongues, and do good to them by our actions. If these duties be to be performed towards priuate men that are our enemies: how much more to publicke persons and Potentats of the earth. Thus he, and much more, shewing great want of iudgment thus to trifle in so serious an argument. For the precept to loue our enemies, & to bestow benefits on them, vrgeth the Commonwealth to depose tyrants rather then to the cōtrary. For what greater benefit can Christian charity bestow on tyrants that run headlong to euerlasting perdition, then to remoue them*

them from gouernment, from the world, & occasions of synne. Without doubt the precept of Charity would bind the Commonwealth to ray the damnatiō of tyrants by deposing the, did Iustice permit them that are not Superiours to bestow benefits & deeds of charity vpon others against their wil. The truth is, that this were against Iustice, though not against Charity, to take by force the scepter from a Prince, who abuseth the same only to his owne damnatiō, without endaun-gering the Commonwealth. But if he cōmit synns that tend to the destru-ction of the state; if (saith the Chan-cellour of Paris) the great Patron of royall immunity; if the Prince doth ma-nifestly, obstinately, really, & vniustly persecute his subiects, the that Princi-ple of the law of nature takes place, *vio-lence may be repelled with violence*. Thus much Gerson, and much more which I willingly pretermitt: nor would I haue said so much, but only to shew that it were best not to handle these questiōs, specially in vulgar Treatises; and that you may see Theodidact's fraude, who

G                      loadeth



Pag. 88.

loadeth on Kings many new titles, that are not so glorious as odious, which doe not so much adorne as oppress, and weigh downe Kings, by laying vpon them the heavy burthen of popular enuy. Such is his fourth proposition which remaynestobe examined, that there is no remedy besides teares and prayers, that may be lawfully vsed for the defence of the Church against the King, though he should be so tyrannous and prophane as to oppress the whole Church, and vterly to extinguish the light of Christian Religion.

*Philanax.*

The very sound of this proposition offendeth a Christian eare, nor can I thinke it is gratefull to his Maiesty, who would (I dare say) with himselfe dead a thousand times, rather then such a case should really happē, that he should extinguish the light of Religion, so little delight he takes that men should adore his Royall Dignity vested in these imaginary impieties. Nor doth Theodidact bring any proefe thereof besides the patience of the Iewes, when they were persecuted by Aman, who  
 won

WON Assuerus to send forth a decree to destroy their whole nation both yonge and olde, children and women in one day. Here (saith he) the whole visible Church which was only amongst the Iewes, by the barbarous designements of Assuerus, seemed to be in the very iawes of death, yet they take no armes, they consult not how to poison Assuerus, or Aman, they animate no desperate person suddenly to stab them, but there was only great sorrow amongst them, and fasting & weeping. Pag. 89. Esther. 4.

*Aristobulus.*

It is not probable that Aman had graunt to murder the whole nation of the Iewes, but only all those that were out of their Country scattered in the Townes of the Persian Monarchy, whome Aman, speaking with Assuerus, tearmeth a people dispersed through all the Provinces of the Empire, and diuided one from another, besides which there was a flourishing Church in Iury. Secondly whereas Theodidact saith, that amongst the Iewes in that extremity there was sorrow & fasting, and weeping only; that only he addes of his owne head against Gods expresse word, which



besides these meanes to appease Gods  
 anger, setteth downe other secondary  
 meanes they vsed for their deliuerance;  
 for they better informed *Assuerus*, de-  
 ceaued by *Amans* sinister suggestions,  
 vsing as instrument the Queene that  
 was so gracious in his sight: resolved  
 also to vse other helpes had that failed  
 them, as *Mardocheus* sent a message to  
*Ester*, *per aliam occasionem liberabuntur lu-*  
*dei*, by some other way the Iewes shalbe re-  
 leased. Neither may we doubt but the  
 Iewes (had they been able) might and  
 would haue resisted *Assuerus*, had he in-  
 uaded their Country with intention  
 to destroy them. For they might haue  
 done to him what their Aunceltors  
 did to his Persian predecessor, as <sup>(a)</sup> *Eu-*  
<sup>(b)</sup> *sebius*, <sup>(c)</sup> *S. Augustine*, <sup>(d)</sup> *Sulpitius*, <sup>(e)</sup> *Beda* & *hi*  
 other Fathers hold, that *Nabuchodonosor* as  
 was, that sent an army against them ha  
 vnder the conduct of *Holofernes*, whom C  
 they resisted, as it is well knowne, th  
 with miraculous successe. I doe not E  
 examine the truth of their opinion. th  
 whether *Nabuchodonosor* were in deed a mi  
 Persian Emperour, but I note the judg- seb  
 ment of the learned Christian anti- thi  
 quity

(a) In  
 chronico.

(b) l. 3. de  
 Ciuit. c. 26

(c) l. 2. Sa-  
 cre histor.

(d) l. de sex  
 statibus.

quity, that they held it lawfull for the  
people of the Iewes to vse forcible re-  
sistance against their tyrannous Soue-  
raigne: neither doth any Father or  
Doctor reprove their opinion in this  
respect. And in what writings of  
Christian Fathers be not the *Machabees*  
renowned that valiantly opposed the-  
selves against *Antiochus* persecuting the  
for Religion, who was their lawfull  
Prince? whose ancestors had peaceably  
enjoyed Soueraignty ouer Iury from  
the time of *Seleucus*, for the space of an  
hundred and fourty yeares, and were  
acknowledged by Priest and people as  
much as euer Persian or Roman Em-  
perors were?

And if wee call to mind Christian  
histories, wee shall finde that as soone  
as the tēporall sword was put into the  
hands of a Christian Monarch, the  
Christian Church craued the assistāce  
thereof against *Licinius* the persecuting  
Emperour. *Constantine* went to succour  
the Christians of the East whome *Lici-  
nius* persecuted. Being persuaded (saith Eu-  
sebius) that it was a great deede of piety & san-  
ctity to releene a great multitude of men, by de-

De vita Cō-  
stant. l. 2.  
c. 3.



posing of one man from government. In which  
 enterprise God did miraculously con-  
 curre to giue him victory, and Chri-  
 stian Bishops assisted him, which they  
 wold not haue done had they thought  
 no meanes lawfull of seeking liberty  
 from persecution of tyrants, be-  
 sides teares and prayers. *Clodoueus* the  
 first Christian King of *France*, how  
 was he magnified for making warre  
 vpon *Alaricus* the *Arian* King of *Spain*,  
 whose Empire in thole dayes did e-  
 brace the greatest part of *Gascony*, wher-  
 of *Clodoueus* did dispossesse the *Gothes*,  
 and slew their Prince in the battaile  
 with his owne hand, hauing no other  
 quarrell then Religion against him.  
 When *Basiliscus* the *Nestorian* Emperour  
 went about to compell Catholike Bi-  
 shops to condemne the Councell of  
*Chalcedon*, *Acatius* Patriarch of *Con-*  
*stantinople* stirred vp both people  
 and monks against him, went to the  
 Emperour, freely reprobued his im-  
 piety, that out of feare he was glad to  
 recall his Edict. *Anastasius* not many  
 yeares after Emperour, friend of the  
*Manichees & Arians*, gathered a synod,  
 and

*Paulus*

*Emil. l. 1.*

*in Clodo-*

*uaco rege.*

*Greg.*

*Turo.*

*Hist. Fran.*

*l. 2. cap. 37.*

*Amoyn. l.*

*1. de gest.*

*Franc. c. 20*

*Nicephor.*

*l. 16. cap. 6.*

*Euagr. l. 3.*

*6. 7.*

*Nicephor.*

*l. 16. cap. 20*

and sought to conſtrayne the Patriarch of Conſtantinople to condemn the Councell of Chalcedon : The people ſtraight in troopes came to the place of meeting crying, Now is the time of Martyrdome : Let no man depart from his Paſtor : They re- uiled the Emperour, they called him Manichee and vnworthy to be Prince: ſo that frighted to ſee the whole multitude reſuſe his gouernment, he then gaue over his enterpriſe. And when afterward relapſed again into his impiety, he ſent ſouldiers to Hieruſalem to caſt Catholike Biſhops from their ſea, the Biſhop and the two Abbots Sabbas and Theodoſius ( men moſt orthodoxe & of miraculous ſanctity ) gathered forces, and in the hearing of the Emperours officer, excommunicated Neſtorius and Eutiches and their adherents, they draue the ſouldiers by force out of the Church, and their Captaine to ſaue his life was glad to run away.

Many the like examples might be layd together out of antiquity, which ſhew that, though teares, ſerious repentance, and prayers to God be the beſt the cheefeſt and readieſt remedies, without which no other ordinarily

Conſtante  
Manaf. p.  
80.

Ibid.

Nicephor:  
l. 16. cap. 33



prenaile;) yet the Fathers iudged that  
 some forcible meanes may with due  
 circumstances be lawfully vsed, rather  
 then the light of Christian Religion  
 should be extinguished, or at least this  
 is cleere, that this practise may be so  
 confirmed by examples of Christian  
 antiquity, that I cannot iudge it wis-  
 dom to make these questions the com-  
 mon subiect of discourse to the vulgar  
 multitude. The only way to abate the  
 estimation of things that by themsel-  
 ues are exceeding pretious, is to com-  
 pare them with other that incompa-  
 rably exceed them in worth. Mortall  
 life compared with eternity growes  
 into contempt: stars shine not in the  
 presence of the sunne: great rivers  
 seeme nothing in respect of the oce-  
 an. The splendor of royall Maiesty &  
 power is as it were a sunne shining a-  
 mong his subiects, the readiest way to  
 make the sunne seeme dymme in a pi-  
 ous and religious sight, is that which  
*Theodidact* vseth, to compare the King  
 and allegiance with God and religion,  
 before whom euen Angelicall purity  
 is darknesse, and all created greatnes  
 put

put together, no more then one drop of morning dew in respect of the mayne sea. A learned Grecian writes that a pious man cannot respect his Prince, when he sees the cause of Religion in danger: then he neither regards person nor dreadeth power how soueraigne soeuer it be. Our writers thinke it an excuse of our first Ghospellers rebellion, that the light of the Ghospell shining in their eyes, made them not see the maiesty and greatnes of Popish Princes whom they threw from their thrones. What wonder then if men that haue zeale of Religion, do stagger at the allegiance we exact of them, seeing we openly require them to professe that the light of Christianity may be vtterly extinguished, rather then the Prince resisted.

*Constant.  
Manasses  
in annali-  
bus p. 80.*

*Dangerous  
positions c.  
6. p. 33.*

*Philanax.*

Yow haue shewed that Theodidacts foure propositions are vngrounded, & odious, and no sure foundations of sincere and dutifull allegiance: But you promised also to speake of the Oath of Allegiance, which Theodidact



saith, stands vpon these grounds, and what your opinion is concerning of rigorous vrging thereof.

*Aristobulus.*

I cannot belceue that the cheef inciters of his Maiesty to the violent exaction of this Oath, do so much respect the common good, as their priuate interest, being men that liue and triumph by the temporall miseries & calamities of Papists. When the desperate rage and temerity of some few of that profession had iustly exasperated his Maiesty, these their enemies that lay in waite to do them a mischief, suggested this deuise, which I cannot be perswaded that his singular wisdom and iudgment would euer haue liked but in these circumstances of perturbation. I wil not rashly precipitate my censure in a matter of such consequence, and wherein his excellent Maiesty is so much engaged: only I will offer vnto your serious cogitation five considerations, which often present themselves vnto me, and make me much doubt how this rigorous course  
of

of vrging the Oath of Allegiance can stand with conscience, or with true policy, or with clemency, or with his Maiesties honour or safety. First how can we with safe conscience vrgemē to swear what euē according to the principles of our Religion, is vncertayne? Not only they that swear what they knowe to be false commit perjury, but such also as swear what they know not to be certaine: because in swearing a thinge that may be false, they go in danger to make God witnesse of falshood. A truth so cleere that it was knowne to a prophane Poet, who setts it downe in verse, that might besecme a Christian.

— *Ambigua si forte citabere testis*

*Incerta que rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis  
Falsus, & admoto dictet periuria Tauro,  
Summū crede nefas animā preferre pudori.*

The doctrines sworne in the Oath cannot be more certaine then the principles whence they are drawne: as the walls cannot be more firme then the foundation wheron they stand. Now if you call to mind the pillars of the Oath laid by Theodidact, you shall find they



they are at least doubtfull propositions which not only Papists, but our Doctors are diuided about. Yea for the most part both sides agree that they are false. Let Protestants then thinke how with safe cōscience they sweare, and vrge others to sweare the things, which being grounded vpon principles vncertaine, cannot be certaine.

*Phylanax.*

I haue heard that *VVidderington* and some other Papists thinke the taking of the Oath lawfull, because they iudge the opinion, That the Pope may not depose Kings, probable, and tollerable amonge Catholikes: these men allso sweare vpon a probability.

*Aristobulus.*

*VVidderington* & his adherēts sceme to be *Theodidacts* Cosen-germans, & with him secretly vndermine the Oath of Allegiance, wherof they would be thought great friends: For either they cōmit periury in swering, or els elude the drift of the Oath. Yf they sweare the thing it selfe, that the Pope wants that

that power, they that haue but a probable persuation therof be forsworne; seeing they sweare what they doe not know certainly to be true. Yt they say that they sweare not the thing it selfe, but only that they haue an acknowledgment & belceif therof, & that this is true, seeing they feele a probable assent to the points of the Oath; this answer cleereth the from perjury, but together takes from the Oath force to bind them. For if a man that only probably beleeues that the Pope cannot depose Kings may take the Oath without being forsworne; then the Oath in the swearer requires only a probable persuation of that point, & if only probable, then changeable vpon better aduise: for liberty to change is necessarily implied in a probable assent, seeing no law can exact that our speculative persuation, be more certaine and immoueable then reason & argument is able to make it. He that takes the Oath as a point of faith if he sweare truly, can neuer alter his iudgment therein without being forsworn, because vnlawfulness to change being inuolued in the assent of faith, he that sweares



swears beleeve for the present, swears consequently he will neuer afterward chāg. But he that swears I acknowledg & beleue the Pope cannot depole the Kinge, meaning no more then I probably beleeue, though he swears truly yet he may within three dayes or sooner change his mind without periury: for neyther did he swear expressly that he would neuer change, nor did the nature of the assent he professed, implicitey bind him neuer to change.

And if this proposition, *the Pope hath no power to depose the King*, which is the foundation of all the other partes in the Oath, be sworne as probable, vpon better aduise changeable, who seeth not that the whole frame of Allegiance that is built thereon, is left to the arbitrement of the swearer, and that by *VViddringtons* doctrine the drift of the Oath, to make his Maiesty secure, is overthrowne. I add hereto that if the Oath be satisfied with a probable perswasion that the Pope cannot depose the King; then the Oath leaues liberty to the Papist that swears

swears, to follow with safe conscience the contrary in practise, seeing they may, by comon consent of their Deuines, follow what probable opinion they please: yea they may without synne follow that opinion which they themselues thinke lesse probable. Which is to be vnderstood when the Authors that allow the speculation of a doctrine, doe not themselues condemne the practise thereof, as sometimes they do, because the doubtfullnes of the speculation makes the practise cleerly against Charity or Religion, or Iustice, as in the instances that *VViddrington* brings in his last reply. But no instance can he giue when both speculation and the practise is allowed as probable by graue authors, that then Papists may not follow the same with a safe conscience. And such is the doctrine, that the Pope may depose Kings, their schooles that allow the speculation, condemne not the practise. Yf then *VVidrington* taking the oath of Allegiance may without breach of his Oath thinke the contrary doctrine,  
that



that the Pope may depose Kings, probable, he may with the Oathes good leaue, by the principles of his Religion, also follow that doctrine in practise: so that swearers vpon probabilities be cunninger, but no better subjects then other Catholiks that refuse the Oath.

I conclude, that either we tender the new Oath to no purpose, or els we vrge men further then in conscience they can sweare. Yf we require but a weak and probable assent? what assurance doth his Maiesty gaine when the swearer may change his opinion at his pleasure, or retayning his opinion follow the contrary in practise? Yf we require firme and immutable assent, how can that assent be sure, the principles & meanes thereof being doubtful? how cā we with good conscience force men to sweare that doctrine to be certaine which we know depends vpon points, disputable in our Church?

The second thing I present vnto you to be considered, concerneth the politick drift & intent of the Oath, which  
is to

is to discover faithfull subiects from those that are disloyally minded: may we not in true policy feare the Oath works the contrary effect? For may not loyall subiects refuse it vpon persuasion that some poynt of Religion is therein indirectly denyed? May not they that beare trayterous hartes take it, notwithstanding their intended treasons, not fearing to commit perjury in Gods sight?

*Philanax.*

You put me in mind of another doctrine of Theodidact, which seemeth to me strange, that men though most trayterous, in taking an Oath will not dissemble. God (saith he) by his immediate finger doth so straitly oblige with secret terrour, Pag. 48. the most inmost conscience, that men obdurate to other greivous synns, will be tender and sensible of the violation of an Oath. Hence he seemeth to inferre, that eue the gunne-powder traytors would not have taken the Oath, but rather have missed of their designe, and that all who refuse, are of the same mind and stamp that they were.

H

*Aristo-*



*Aristobulus.*

This diuinity of Theodidast, which seemes the ground of vrging the Oath, is against the rules of true policy and wilsdome. First it layeth the burthen of infamons disloyalty on tender consciences, giuing away the praile of fidelity to men that may be void of Religion and dissembling swearers. Secondly it goeth about to blinde his Maiesties eyes, and lull his Counsell a sleepe towards subtile and dangerous traytors, that goe on the ground of that reacherous Thebean, *Children are to be deceaued with apples, but men with Oathes.*

Thirdly he goeth against the consent of all well-ordred Commonwealthes, which in triall of life and death vse not to put men to purge themselves by Oathe, fearing they will sweare vnruly to saue their liues, which feare were needles did they beleeue that God in taking of an Oath did so perpetually constrain the inmost conscience of obdurate sinners to be tender in that poynt. *S. Augustine in deed saith, that some vnchast women which*

*De mendacio ad Con  
sent. c. 22.*

haue not feared to deceaue their husbands by wantonnes, haue been afraide to vse God vnto them as a witnesse of their chastity; but these were women perchaunce very few: and if in those times so tender a conscience was incident to all, or most vnchast wiues; I dare lay they were more Godly and timorous then the adulteresses of these dayes, amongst whom perchaunce very few may be found that will loose their liues, rather then delude their husbands with an Oath. Howsoeuer, carnall synne, the motiue whereof is fleeting pleasure, doth not so root out conscience, and obdurate the hart, as treasons and conspiracies against Kinge & Country, which whosoever harboureth in his hart, it is a miracle if he be tender in violating of an Oath. And what Theodidact feigneth to make the refusers of the Oath odious, that those phantasticall plotters would rather haue lost their liues, then haue dissembled in an Oath, their best friends will hardly beleeue they were worthy of so great prayse. Wherefore men that are more timorous of a false Oath, then of the



losse of their life, should least of all be suspected to haue consciences capable of so vast treason as is the blowing vp Parlements with powder. *Anacharsis* compared the Athenian lawes to the spiders web, wherein flyes are caught, but greater beasts without difficulty break through them : so the Oath of Allegiance catcheth some scrupulous women, and timorous Papists, but great Traitors, that cā without scruple plot and contriue bloody massacres & murders of Princes, these will easily blow away so trifling a synne ( I speak comparatiuely ) as is equiocation in an Oath. Yf amongst Papists there be any (as charity would haue vs iudge there be none ) that nourish such bloudy entendments, I make no doubt they be of that company that take the Oath. Yf amongst Puritans there be any so traiterously disposed, I dare acquit them that for conscience & feare of offēding God refuse the Oath, & vndergoe the penalties thereof, as I vnderstand some doe. These Puritans may be rather suspected that be deluded of piously inclined people, that thinke they

they may lawfully lye for the glory of the Gospell, that haue drawne auersion to his Maieſty from the very ſpringe of his being, from the wombe wherein moſt barbarouſly they went about to bury him before he was borne. As for Papists they beare him affectiō grounded in the ſtock, deriued frō mother to the ſonne: theſe I ſay refuſing to ſwear out of meere cōſcience may, according to the rules of prudency and policy, moſt of all be truſted, and deſerue that the beames of his royall Clemency ſhine vpon them.

Hæc maximam ſeu regulam habent, licere pro gloria Chriſti Offender in epis. Hiſt. Centur. 16. pag. 796.

*Philanax.*

They that reſuſe the Oath, I ſee not why therfore they ſhould be numbered amongſt loyall ſubiects: yea rather fearing periury, they ſeeme to diſſouer diſloyall affection, lurking in their harts.

*Aristobulus.*

Such as reſuſe to take the Oath in the preſcribed forme of wordes, at the ſame time offer to ſwear that they will be loyall to his Maieſty in all occaſions a-



gainst domesticall treasons or forraine inuasions: either they meāt sincerely or not: if not, first where is Theodidact's diuinity that God so bindeth the inmost cōscience that obdurate synners will not dissemble in oathes? Secondly why would you trust them, if they should sweare the oath you prescribe, if they will dissemble in the Oath they offer to take themselves? much more they wil and may dissemble in the Oath you force vpon them vnder grieuous penalties, if they meane sincerely, then his Maieſty may be secure. What greater Loyalty can you desire? they will neuer yeeld to any treason, nor second or conceale any forrayne inuasion whatsoever. How can that stand with the principles of their doctrine, that the Pope may depose the King? Why should we be solicitous how they may do it with safe conscience? It is inough that we haue their sworne loue and affection to do it. Leauē that care to them, when occasions fall, our particular circumstances will affoord probable reasons to do the duty of subiects, without blemish to their Religion. Loue is ingenious to find

find out reasons for excuse of the person we loue: so we be assured of their loue to Prince and Country, we need no more. But we be not sure thereof? How be we not sure whē we see, those men that offer to sweare it, ready to dy rather then sweare an vntruth? hauing the greatest assurance they meane sincerely, that morality can afford, is it not pittie that hearts so dutifull to their Prince should be pluckt out of their breasts as trayterous, because they be so awfull to God, that they wil be rather torne in peeces, then sweare an vncertainty?

Wherefore in my opinion, sworne duty of Papists were to be highly prized, yea most of all the allegiance of them, that be readier to dy then to take the new oath. For their standing with such daunger against an oath which they thinke vniust, shewes they will not for humane respects sweare but what really they beleue to be true, nor promise but what they truly meane to performe. It may be iustly supposed that these men, as they will rather dye, then sweare Allegiance



which they think not due, so they will loose their liues sooner then neglect the allegiance they haue once sworn. And though they cannot frame their consciences to sweare the speculariue denyall of the Popes authority to depose Princes in some circumstances imaginable, yet they are ready to sweare that in practise they will stand with the King against all treasons, and in all quarrells not openly and vnexcusably vniust. Such as persuaide his Maiesty to neglect such loyall offer of loue, I pray God their trecherous, flattery bring him not into occasions that he may need the helpe of such trusty subjects.

This we see that already the flatterers haue brought him to engage *his Honor* for the overthrow of the Popes authority in this poynt, which is the fourth cōsideration that I made promise to present vnto you. For I cannot thinke the successe wilbe such as might become the enterprise of so great a Monarch.

*Philanax.*

*Philanax.*

The power to depose Kings at his pleasure which the Pope challengeth, so saouureth of presumption, & is so odious, that his Maiesty needs not feare the successe of so plausible a quarrell.

*Aristobolus.*

This authority hath byn now many yeares together impugned, and the abiuration thereof vrged vnder gricuous penalties. What haue we gayned? or rather could this doctrine haue more preuailed then by this opposition it hath done? Before this stirre, I know some learned Papists denied that authority in the Pope; many that held it, thought it not a poynt of Faith, but the more probable opinion: and in *France* that opinion might scarce be spoken of. Now find me a popish Priest that houlds it, or thinks that doctrine tollerable in their Church? When the matter was vrged in *France* to haue a like oath enacted, did not both Clergy & No-



bility stand against it? When Cardinall Perous speach for the Popes authority to depose Kings was printed, what Papist durst put his name to an answer? We know that that doctor forsaken of the Papists of France, was forced to fly for succour to his Maiesties pen. Some Papists complaine that we change the state of the question, of purpose to make their doctrine odious; Which is, not that the Pope may depose Princes at his pleasure, but in case of necessity. But this change of the question to me seemes not so disgracefull to the Pope, as to our Gospell, that after so great promises to burne Rome, and overthrow Popery, the heat of al our controuersies worketh vpon this poynt, Whether Kings for their Crownes be the Popes tenants at will. Would the Pope renounce his right in this point, for the rest we would not greatly care to giue ouer. When I consider the late quarrell begun by our King Henry the 8. against the Pope, me thinks the successe thereof hath been much like that of the Carthaginians vnder Haniball against

gainst the auncient Common wealth of Rome. At the first the Carthaginians so farre preuailed, as they got most part of Italy from the Romans, and fought with them about the walls of Rome. Within a while fortune so changed that the Carthaginians were driuen backe into *Africke*; warre was there maintained, that much adoe they had to saue their owne Carthage. Our Kings in the beginning stroue with the Pope for supremacy in spirituall things, many Papists & euen Bishops stood with the King, that the Pope was in danger to loose his Miter. The more that matters were searched into, the more did the Popes cause daily preuaile: so that not only Papists be now cleerly resolved in that point, as in a most notorious truth, but also Puritans mislike Princes supremacy: and euen Protestants, as far as they dare, go paring away peeces from it. And now the Pope secure of supremacy in spirituall things, pretends right to dispose of Crownes, when the necessity of Religion shall require it. And who seeth not that euen in this controuersy



trouerly they dayly winne ground? Had not we set our selues to impugne this authority: had not so many books, fraught with weak arguments, which Papists confute with great shew of truth on their side, beene written against it: had not Priests lost their liues, & lay Papists their livings for it, I am perswaded it might haue beene buried in obliuion, or at least within their schooles haue beene kept from common peoples eares. Now persecutiō hath made the question so famous, as it will hardly be forgotten: the blood shed for the affirmatiue part thereof, hath printed the same deepe in many mens conceits, yea the death of men so graue, learned, and pious hath made some Protestants that hated it before, cast vpon it a more favourable looke.

— *Per arma per cades, ab ipso*

*Semis opes, animumque ferro.*

And this is a very remarkable proceeding of Popery, different from the course of our Gospell. The light of our Gospell shined exceeding bright at the first: there was no diuision amongest

mongest our Ghospellers: it stirred vp  
in mens harts wonderfull zeale, that  
(as one noteth) out of pure light they did  
not consider what they did, and in their zeale  
their goods, lands, children, wives, and liues  
were not greatly deere vnto them. With time  
this light waxed dymmer and dym-  
mer, the doctrine lesse certaine, they  
grew into factions and sects, and ther-  
upon their zeale became cold, that  
now the greatest feare is (as often-  
times from one extreme men are  
prone to fall into the cleane opposite)  
least the supposed cleere shining of  
truth, make men vncerten and not  
greatly zealous of any Religion at all.  
The Papists contrarywise, when con-  
trouerfies are first raised, are very wary  
and circumspect, their censures be not  
absolute, there are commonly diuers  
opinions amongst them, the more  
that Scriptures, Fathers, Councells,  
testimonies of antiquity, and reasons  
are examined, the more they grow in-  
to consent, the more resolute and im-  
mouable they become in their do-  
ctrine, more zealous one day then an-  
other to giue their liues for it. This  
course

Dangerous  
positions p.

33.



course they hold in the doctrine of the Popes power, which in the beginning was taught neither so certainly, nor vniuersally, nor zealously as now it is, and wilbe euery day more and more, except these controuerfies be removed from vulgar examination, which cannot be so long as the oath is vrged: seeing such as are to sweare, must (least they be forsworne) search into the certainty of this Truth, and read bookes that treat of that argument. And when no other inconuenience should ensue of this course; this alone might moue the prudent friends of Kings to labour the silencing of this controuerfisy, that the wordes of deposing and murdering Gods annointed, which should be buried in the depth of amazement & horror, come by vulgar disputation to sound familiarly in euery eare. And without doubt by this their familiar acquaintance with the word, part of the horror against the action is lost. Which may be the cause, that where speach against the Pops authority for deposing of Kings hath been risest, & most vulgar, those Countries for practise

Pudor rerum per  
verba discitur.  
*Sen. ep. 77.*

life against the life of their Kinges haue been most vnfortunate: Whereas Spayne hath seene no such tragicall practise, nor any attempt thereof, but hath enioyed a longe happy peace, where the questions how to proceede with Tyrants are freely permitted to the schooles, without any popular declamations agaynst Scholasticall opinions in this poynt.

*Philanax.*

I must confesse that I haue been my selfe much deceaued in my expectation about the successe of Papists in this controuersy. When I considered the circumstances of the contention, the doctrine impugned not gratefull to Princes, not so cleerly decided in their Church, by some of their writers denied, the person impugning by sword and penne a Monarch mighty, learned, & beloued euen of Popish Potentates, and this at a tyme of great advantage vpon the gunpowder treason, which was vrged as a sequell of this doctrine, that euen the greatest fauorers thereof seemed fearfull. These  
cir-



circumstances made me think that Popery would receaue a great blow, and that his Maiesty would draw the whole Church to be of his opinion. What the successe hath been we see, & you haue shewed. I could wish the Controuerſy might not haue further progresse, & be now buried in silence, that posterity may not say, that Rome grew by his Maiesties opposition against it, that this point of her authority was made renowned by victory ouer him, & what the Papists before did doubtfully defend, the blood of their Martyrs suffering vnder King James, made certaine, knowne, illustrious. And peace concluded about the silencing of this controuerſy might be the beginning of an vniuersall agreement with that Sea, seeing other doctrinall controuerſies by discussion be brought to that yssue, that (as I haue heard some learned & intelligent persons auerre) a calme consultation void of priuate interest, and animosity might soone end them.

*Avi-*

*Aristobulus.*

This peace were much to be wished: nor is it safe to maintaine strife with that Sea, but vpon vnauoidable occasions. And this is the fifth and last thinge which I wish you would seriously ponder, and not wonder that this counsell should be suggested by mee that am no Papist.

The knowne bad successe that Kings and Princes haue still had in their oppositions against the Romane Church may moue sufficiently all faithfull Counsaillers, though not of the Popes Religion, neuer (if they may choose) to engage their Soueraignes in such quarrelles. *Judith. c. 2.* *Arioch* the Ammonite Prince could tell *Holofernes* out of experience, that his power and force would not be able to subdue the Iewes, that in the end he would be repelled with disgrace, yet he was not a Iew in Religiō. The like aduise *Amon* Counsaillers that were heathens gaue *Esther. c. 6.* him, to desist in his quarrell against *Mardocheus* the Iew: Thou canst not (say they) resist him, he being of the stock of the  
I Iewes,



Plutar-  
chus de  
fortuna  
Romanorum

*Iewes, but shalt fall before him.* It was noted that when Octavian and Antony were youthes, still in their games Octavian had the best: whereupon a prudent friend gaue Antony warning in ciuill contro- uersies neuer to encounter him. Thou art (said he) more noble then he, more eloquent and better qualified, yet I see cleerly his *Genius* is stronger the thine: if thou try the fortune of warre with him, he will doubtles be Conquerour. What the cause may be why it shold be so, who knows? but experience, now a thousand and six hundred years old, shewes that this is the fate and felicity of that Sea, to conquer with their pa- rience and bring vnder subiection, & into nothing, all the opponents against their doctrine, or their authority. The Roman Emperors for 300. yeares to- gether bloudily oppugned Christian Religion, but principally the Roman Sea, in so much as thirty Bishops ther- of were martyred, and the persecuting Emperors (as S. Cyrtian saith) were more greued that a new high Priest was placed in that Sea, then that a new Prince was chosen & set vp against them. What was the successe? For

Epist. 52.

For those three Centuries of years, scarce any Emperour that persecuted them, can be named, that deriued the Empire to a third heire, or dyed not an vnfortunate death: and in the end *Constantine*, their Successor, submitted the Empire to the obedience of the Roman Bishop, wherein the Emperors that followed him contynued.

Afterward some Christian Emperors begā to quarrell with the Church about the priuiledges and immunities of the Clergy, specially *Valentinian* the third, and the succeeding Emperors of the West. Did they preuaile? In their daies the westerne Empire began to decay; The Franks tooke to the *France*; the Saxons, *Britanny*; the *VVandalls* *Africk*; the *Visigothes*, *Spaine*; the *Gothes*, *Italy*, which soone after were made Christians and submitted their Kingdomes to the Pope, and their Kings professed to receaue their Crownes & authority from him.

Who knoweth not how pittifully the Easterne Emperors, and the Patriarches of *Constantinople* vexed the Pope for many ages, which their  
1 2                      quarrell



quarrell they neuer would giue ouer till finally they fell into the miserable bondage & slavery of the Turke, wherein at this present, without hope of remedy, they grone.

What successe (to omit many other experiences) had the German Casars, that stroue with the Pope for the investiture of Bishops by staffe & ring? Henry the 4. excommunicated and deposed by Gregory the 7. vpon that cause, prospered for a while, which this traitiser sets downe to encourage Princes to follow his example, but he concealeth how in the end (in punishment of his rebellion against his spirituall Father, as Papists thinke) he was deposed by his owne Sonne, put in prilon, whence escaping he gathered forces, was defeated, & brought to such want, as he sued to be Sexton in a Church, and serue Priests Masse, who had most cruelly vexed the high Priest of Christians many yeares together. Nor admitted to that office, he turned himself to begge of laymen, in lamentable manner, crying, *Haue mercy on me, at least you my friendes, for the hand of the Lord hath touched*

Sigon. de  
Regno  
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touch'd mee : and so full of misery, repentance, and anguish of mind, he pined away to death. The newes whereof was receaued with generall ioy of all Christians. And his Sonne, though for a while he trode the steps of his Fathers disobedience: yet finally he yielded vp his right, in possession whereof the Roman Bishop is at this day. Wherein not only the successe which Popes had against so potent Aduersaries, as was *Henry the 4.* who fought more battailes then euer did *Iulius Caesar*, but their courage and confidence also was admirable. Neither ought any discrete Protestant trust *Theodidacts* relatiō of *Hidelbrāds* fainting in the quarrell, taken out of *Sigeberts* a partiall Monke; seeing Papists bring 50. Historians that contradict him. These whose fidelity can with no reason be called in question, relate that he ended his life full of cōstancy, vsing at his death these words: *Because, I haue loved Iustice, and hated wickednesse, I now dy in banishment. Urbane* that succeeded *Gregory* both in office and in zeale against the Emperour, being driue out of *Italy*



*Papyrius  
Massonius  
Annal.  
Franc. l. 3.  
in Philipp.*

into France, hauing so great need of the Kings assistance; yet was he so voide of humane respects, that at that very time he excommunicated Philip King of France, for putting away his true wife, and liuing in open incest. The King (saith an vnpartiall Historian) threatned, that except Urbane would restore him to the Church & Crowne, he wold depart with his whole Kingdom from his obedience, & the obedience of the Roman Sea: yet this moued not that most holy Bishop to relent. In fine Philip was faine to yeeld; not being able to extort otherwise releasment from excommunication, and so religion & conscience preuailed ouer the Scepter and the Diademe, & the inuincible Majesty and Name of King. So admirable for constancy were those Popes that vsed their authority to depose wicked Emperors, & so free from loue of the world, that we may iustly thinke God fauoured their cause. Howsoever their perpetuall good successe for so many ages against all aduersaries, though the reason thereof be hidden, may giue iust cause (in my opinion) for Kings to be wary, how they aduenture their Crownes  
vpon

vpon preuailing against them; and how they deuile new oathes of Allegiance that wage warre against the authority of their Sea. And this is the last thing which I desire to leaue to be seriously pondered by you that loue the King: & so I cōclude, praying the Lord hartly, that as hitherto he hath defended Kingly authority in our great Britany frō open enemies: so now he will defend the same from secret plots and trayterous Treatises, which by shew of friendship seek the overthrow thereof.

*Philanax.*

I am glad (*Aristobulus*) that wee fell into this discourse, in which you haue cleerly discried *Theodidacts* fraudulent vndermining of Royall Authority. The publishers of that booke, besides their secret plotting agaynst the Soueraignty of Princes, seeme like-while to haue had an eye to their owne lucre in the diuulging thereof. For there being a commaund, that this Booke both in publicke and private schooles be read to Children of both sexes, & ech booke sold for six pence which is hardly worth two pence; you must



needs see a great summe of money that  
hēce is ycarely made: a summe, I say, so  
great, as doth farre surpasse the custome  
of the *Peter-pence*, which in old time  
euery house payed to the Pope. Nor-  
withstanding at this their enriching  
themselues by this deuise, I do not so  
much grieue: but I am hartly sory  
that so many odious & yngrounded  
positions cōcerning Royall Authority  
that may raise vp horror rather thē loue  
of Kings, be instilled into the tender  
minde of Childrē, which afterward,  
when any occasion is giuen, may soone  
turne into hatred. But thereof you  
haue spoken inough. Wherfore I like-  
wise will end with your hartly good  
wishes towardes his Maiesty, and our  
most gracious Prince *Charles*, beseeching  
the Almighty to defend them both, and  
to giue them the spirit of wisdom  
wherby they may discouer these tra-  
sions hidden with a shew of friend-  
shipp.

*The*

*The Printer to the  
Reader.*

**T**HIS Treatise (gentle Reader) may seeme written by some English Protestant, agaynst some Puritans, enemies of Kingly Souerainity; which by them in former times openly impugned, they now seeke to ouerthrow, by grouinding the same vpon odious, and dangerous Positiōs touching the immunity of Tyrants. The Author disputeth the questiō of this weighty subiect, in such moderate stile and manner, bringing reasons both solide, and not regning with Catholike doctrine, that he may be thought to be in opinion Catholike, though for modesties sake, & to the end that this truth might be more pleasingly accepted of Protestants; in this worke



he discourseth as if he were Protestant. And for this reason, some Catholike arguments he doth pretermitt; others he doth not vrge to the vttermoſt, partly for breuityes ſake, but cheefly becauſe his intēt is no more then to ſhew that the new Protestants principles from which they deduce Royall Authority be at the leaſt doubtfull and vncertaine. And this he doth cleerly demonſtrate, and thence concludes, that it is againſt the rules euen of humane policy, to forſake the moſt ſure grounds of Soueraigne Power in Kinges, whereon Chriſtian Kingdomes relying, haue hitherto ſtood firme and flouriſhed vnder the Catholike diſcipline & iuſt lawes, and to build the ſacred authority of Princes, whereon their peoples ſafety dependes, vpon the new vngrounded Doctrines, & Paralogiſmes of Scriptures, which ſeemes  
to

to haue byn the drift of the former Dialogue.

For this cause, I thought it would not be amisse, nor lost labour, to put the same in print, renewed before hand & corrected.

The title, *God and the King*, I would not alter, because in two wordes, it doth fully put downe the Catholike opinion concerning Princes Authority, & their subiects Allegiance. For (as this treatise doth insinuate) three opinions in this poynt now are in *Englād*. The first of Puritās, who wil haue *God* without *King*, or else such a *King* that must depend on the peoples beck, & on their Consistoriā Preachers, whose perfidious audacity, his Majesty hath had sufficient experience. The second is of Politicians, who haue no more Christianity, then Parliamentary decrees breath into them: These will haue *King* without,



without *God*, or at least *King* and *God*, that is, *God* so longe, and no longer then the *King* shall please, whome they will haue still obeyed, though he go openly about to extinguish the light of Christian Religion. The third opinion is of *Catholikes*, whose mote is, *God and the King*: in the first place they worship *God*; in the second the *King*, to whome they giue all Allegiance and subiection as farre as Religion and conscience will permit. And this is to giue, what is *Cesars* to *Caesar*, and what is *Gods* to *God*. Farewell.

**FINIS.**

